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ABSTRACT

The history of higher education in the Ohio Valley in the 19th century is reviewed in light of leadership and dogma, theology, and religious bickering. Emphasis is placed on Washington and Jefferson College, Transylvania University, denominational colleges in Kentucky, Miami University, and Ohio University. An extensive bibliography is included. (MJM)

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE OHIO VALLEY IN THE 19th CENTURY

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Ohio Valley Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century

By
Charles William Hackensmith

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FOREWORD

Dr. Hackensmith's book will be important to faculty and graduate students who are interested in the historical backgrounds during the nineteenth century of college presidents and the institutions they served in Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio. Students of the intellectual history of that period in America will find this book an excellent reference, also.

One of Dr. Hackensmith's major themes is that the history of higher education in the Ohio Valley during the nineteenth century is a study of the leadership of the college president. If the president were successful as a scholar and a leader, the college had a period of prosperity and success. If the president failed in leadership, enrollments declined, faculty moved to other institutions, and finance became a problem. President Holley of Transylvania University, for example, increased enrollment from 110 in 1816 to 282 in 1821, placing it third in comparison with Yale and Harvard. By 1826, the enrollment had increased to 418, the faculty in law and medicine were gaining national recognition, and the institution was in a prosperous period.

Other early outstanding college presidents were Andrew Wylie of Indiana University, Robert Hamilton Bishop of Miami University, and Jacob Lindley of Ohio University.

Another major theme in this book is that dogma, theology, and religious bickering were a part of the founding and the struggle for existence of the denominational colleges founded in the Ohio Valley. Internal dissension over man's original sin was a part of the squabble that led to Dr. Holley's dismissal at Transylvania, but even worse, this concern about human depravity ruined forever the chance for national greatness at that institution. Perhaps this sort of stranglehold on church dominated colleges in the early nineteenth century started the wave of secularism which in 1973 has placed church control at the trace level rather than critical mass stage.

Perhaps a lesser theme but one that is very evident, nonetheless, is that higher education in the Ohio Valley in the nineteenth century was a sub system of American society and as such faced problems similar to ones which are a part of the contemporary scene. The colleges were a part of a changing society, a milieu of the past era and the dynamic surge of new forces. The Kentucky legislature took a stand in Transylvania's development. President Fee of Berea College found his stance on slavery unpopular with friends and supporters of the College.

Dr. Hackensmith has written an historical approach with careful documentation which is also a behavioral narrative in that success or failure of the early colleges in the Ohio Valley was a mix of personalities reacting with each other and to the social and economic forces of the time.

—Collins W. Burnett
Professor of Higher Education
University of Kentucky

Via, per quam ad hanc horam venistis, ardua et difficulis fuit. . . Nam discipuli via non semper rosarum, sed saepe spinarum via est.

Dr. Daniel Stevenson

The road through which you have come to this hour has been tortuous and difficult, . . . for the way of the learner is not always lined with roses; it is often beset with thorns.

CHAPTER I

HIGHER EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP IN THE OHIO VALLEY DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

C. W. Hackensmith

Washington and Jefferson College

Of all the traits which early western society cultivated, of all the ideals it sought to realize, moral education seems most universally, most consistently, most earnestly and ardently desired. It is true that the idea of moral education was not uniquely an idea of the West; it was an eastern idea transported into the West. It found virgin soil which encouraged a luxurant growth, and it was tended by earnest gardeners who were, in their way, adventurers so that a transplanted idea thrived in its new freedom until it came to be the most flourishing and representative product of the West. At no time or place in American history has an enthusiasm for higher education been so marked, and the provisions for it so amply provided.

The early culture of the Ohio Valley offered little enough art; its lack of age and tradition hindered that, but it established schools and colleges throughout the West and offered to the free citizens abundant opportunities for liberal education. In doing this, western democracy destroyed the last barrier between the aristocrat and the common man. Then it went a step farther in the culture of the Ohio Valley; women found themselves for the first time granted equal educational privileges with men.

The early phase of the history of higher education in the Ohio Valley is the history of the denominational college. In this field of cultural endeavor the organized church assumed the lead. The states, it is true, recognized their responsibilities and made provisions for endowments and grants for the support of schools, but the responsibilities for the establishment of the colleges and the development of their programs was assumed by the church. The educational program which resulted was, consequently, of a moral nature. So closely interwoven are these phases of religious and educational culture, therefore, that it is impossible to discuss the one without discussing the other. The effort toward higher education was, however, but one phase or expression of the religious culture of the West; but it is the phase which has contributed the most valuable and enduring monuments.

While all sects were more or less active in the development of programs for higher education, the Presbyterian Church was most aggressive. The plans, therefore, were rigidly orthodox and conservative, shaped after the pattern employed in preparing Presbyterian ministers in Edinburgh and

Princeton, and taking little note of advanced, challenging ideas. The ministers to whose lot the development of these programs fell were, however, by no means lacking in spirit. They were young men, cautious, it is true, yet imaginative and capable of appreciating the inadequacies of conventional sytsems. It is to the individual vision and initiative of these men, therefore, that western culture is indebted for educational programs much more liberal and progressive than those of eastern institutions.

In the opinion of English observers, American educational standards, even in the East, were not high. Curricula were meager and faculties were inadequate. Even in the best universities the courses of study impressed one as woefully narrow and distorted. The disproportionate emphasis on Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and the neglect of the sciences were problems which western educators recognized, however, and which they attempted to solve.[1]

The impulse behind the establishment of the first western college was the missionary spirit within the Presbyterian Church. This spirit was, in turn, an aftermath of the Great Awakening of 1745. Presbyterian education as it appeared in the West was a liberal education, tracing its roots back to Princeton College, and still farther to the famous Log College at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania the training places of revival men.[2] Its beginnings in the West were in the academies of the Reverend Joseph Smith, the Reverend Thaddeu Dodd, and the Reverend John McMillan, in southwestern Pennsylvania.

As the dates of the establishment of the academies of these men are of less significance than the results which followed, the problem of priority may be avoided. McMillan came West in 1773 with the advice of Dr. Samuel S. Smith of Princeton, "to look out for some pious young men and educate them for the ministry." In a letter of McMillan to Reverend Joseph Smith and quoted in his *Old Redstone,* p. 80, he states:

> Accordingly, I collected a few who gave evidence of piety and taught them the Latin and Greek languages . . . I still had a few with me when the academy opened in Canonsburg and, finding that I could not teach and do justice to my congregation, I immediately gave it up and sent them there.

At the same time Joseph Smith had established at Upper Buffalo, in Washington County, a school for the same purpose and Dodd had opened on his farm on Ten Mile in Washington County, a classical, mathematical, and scientific school.[3] In 1787 the Washington Academy was incorporated by the Pennsylvania legislature, having an endowment of five thousand acres of land, and in January, 1789, Dodd was appointed principal. He thereupon abandoned the school on his farm at Ten Mile, went to Wash-

[1] E. E. Sparks. *The Expansion of the American People. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co.,* (1900) pp. 161-4.

[2] Joseph Smith. *Old Redstone;* or Historical Sketches of Western Presbyterianism. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Co., (1854) p. 121.

[3] Joseph Smith. *Ibid.,* pp. 76, 79.

ington, and began to teach the classes which met in the courthouse of that town. This school continued intermittently until 1806 when it was incorporated as Washington College, with the Reverend Matthew Brown as president.

The Canonsburg Academy which displaced McMillan's school, and later became Jefferson College, was established by direction of the Synod of Virginia Presbyterian Church.[4] It was to be one of "two general institutions of learning, conducted under the patronage of this body; the one to be established in Rockbridge County, in this state (Virginia) under the care of the Reverend William Graham, the other in Washington County, Pennsylvania, under the care of the Reverend John McMillan." The primary purpose of this institution was to educate young men for the ministry and to this end the "learned languages, and the usual circle of sciences" were taught, and courses of religious instruction were established. Ministers and presbyteries were urged to seek out pious youth of "promising genius in our country who might be servisable [*sic*] in preaching the Gospel but through want of sufficient ability are unable to obtain an education," and "to use their influence in their respective bounds with the pious and benevolent to make annual contributions for raising a fund for this purpose. . . . Those youth, upon obtaining their education at the expiration of one year after being settled in some line of business shall begin to refund to the Treasury the expences [*sic*] of their education in such time and manner as the P.b.y. may direct."[5] The selection of the location of the academy was left to the presbytery of Redstone, whereupon the donated site of Canonsburg was chosen. The *Pittsburgh Gazette* immediately advertised the institution in the following manner:

> The building for the Academy at Canonsburg is now finished and the institution under good regulations. The Grammar school is taught by Mr. Johnston; and the English, Euclid Elements of Geometry, Trigonometry, Plain and Spherical, with the latter's application to Astronomy; Navigation, Surveying, Mensuration, Gauging, Dialing Conic Sections, Algebra and Bookkeeping by Mr. Miller; both well known for their attention and abilities. Boarding in the neighborhood to be had at good houses, at the low price of ten pounds, payable, principally, in produce. The situation is healthy, near the center of Washington County; the fund raised by the Presbytery, and to be applied for the support of a certain number of scholars, annually is directed by the Synod of the district to be appropriated to this Academy. It is hoped the public will regard with favorable eye this institution and give it all the encouragement that it may deserve. Nov. 2, 1792.
>
> N.B. The printers in the different states will please insert the above in their newspapers.

When the Presbytery of Ohio was created from that of Redstone in 1793, the two organizations controlled the academy jointly.[6] In 1880, the academy received its first legislative grant, $1,000, and a movement

[4] Presbyterian Synod of Virginia, Minutes, October 1, 1791, the quote from p. 82.

[5] Presbytery of Redstone, Minutes, October 20, 1791, pp. 80-81.

[6] Presbytery of Redstone, *ibid.*, 99, 110.

was begun to convert it into a college.[7] This was accomplished in 1802, when the legislature issued to it a charter which identified it as Jefferson College.[8] This charter and the laws which governed the new college were modeled upon those of Princeton. In 1815, a movement with the objective of uniting Jefferson with Washington College was begun, and the ensuing quarrel as to which community should remain in possession of the united institutions became an intensely bitter "college war" which was waged until 1865, when the schools were combined as Washington and Jefferson College at Washington, Pennsylvania.

Throughout the history of these institutions the classical tradition was rigidly maintained. In McMillan's "Log College" which preceded the Canonsburg Academy, James Ross taught Latin as assistant to McMillan. McMillan's mode of instruction was by written lectures which the students transcribed and recited literally. Dr. Matthew Brown stated that "perhaps about one hundred ministers were trained, more or less, in Dr. McMillan's school of the prophets."[9] The trustees of Canonsburg Academy, in 1796, employed David Johston and James Mountain to teach the Latin and Greek languages, "each master aforesaid to receive the sume of ninety pounds specie for one year."[10] In 1799 the trustees prescribed Latin, Greek, and other courses in addition to the common introductory ones:

> The first three books of *Selectae E Profanis,* six books of Ovid, the *Eclouges* and *Georgics* of Virgil, the first six *Aeneids;* all Horace and the Orations of Cicero. Then in the Greek, the usual parts of the Greek New Testament. The first four books of *Xenophon's Cyropaedia* and four books of Homer's *Iliad.* In Mathematics, the whole of Arithmetic. The first six books of *Euclid's Elements, Simpson's Algebra* to the fiftieth problem, or the equivalent in some other author. Trigonometry Surveying, Martin's Natural Philosophy, Astronomy and Geography, comprising the use of globes. Also Rhetoric, Logic, and Moral Philosophy.[11]

The program of Jefferson College was, of course, more ambitious. At a meeting held on April 27, 1802, the trustees agreed that:

> The faculty shall consist of 1st., a President or Principal who is also to be the Professor of Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Logic, etc. 2nd., A Professor of Divinity. 3rd., A Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. 4th., That the languages shall be taught as hitherto by the Professor. 5th., That the Mathematics be taught, till the Fall, in the manner hitherto in the Academy, by the Professor. 6th., That the Professor of Moral Philosophy, teach all who wish to apply to it, Logic, Rhetoric, Geography, etc. 7th., That, in the Fall all who by attending through the session on the Institution, shall sustain an examination on the Languages, Geography, Mathematics, Natural and Moral

[7] Joseph Smith, *History of Jefferson College, Including an Account of the Early Log-Cabin Schools and the Canonsburg Academy; with Biographical Sketches.* Pittsburgh: J. T. Shryock, (1857) p. 51.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 54.
[9] Smith, *Old Redstone,* p. 176.
[10] *Ibid.,* pp. 36-37.
[11] Smith, *Old Redstone,* p. 49.

Philosophy, Rhetoric, Logic, Metaphysics, Roman and Greek Antiquities, and History, shall receive a degree. 8th., That the Rules and Regulations hitherto adopted for the good conduct of the students in the Academy shall be continued in force till Fall. 9th., That each student shall pay his tuition a quarter in advance.[12]

The trustees further agreed that they would now mention what classes they designed to constitute, and the studies of each, so that the students might, through the summer, be making preparation for the classes which they planned to enter. The "First Class" was to read Horace, Cicero's *Orations*, Xenophon, Homer, Longinus, together with the study of Greek and Roman antiquities, geography, and some parts of algebra. The "Second Class" to be styled the "Mathematical Class" was to finish algebra and study Euclid's Elements, practical geometry, natural philosophy, rhetoric, and history. The "Third Class" to be called the "Philosophical Class" was to study logic, moral philosophy and metaphysics and carefully review the languages and "the aforementioned arts and sciences." A strict attention was to be paid by all students of all classes to composition and to speaking orations. Two years' connection with the college, and a sustained examination on all studies, were made the conditions upon which diplomas were granted.[13]

In 1797 John Watson came to the Canonsburg Academy as a teacher. He was a native of western Pennsylvania who had received his early training under McMillan and had been sent by him to Princeton to complete his education. When the academy became Jefferson College, Watson became its first president. He lived but a year, however, and was succeeded, in 1803, by the Reverend James Dunlap, who resigned the presidency in 1812, the affairs of the college being administered until 1817 by Dr. Andrew Wylie, a graduate of Jefferson College in 1807 and later president of Indiana College. The Reverend William McMillan, a nephew of the founder and later to become president of Franklin College in Ohio, served from 1817 to 1821, and Dr. Matthew Brown, the most famous and successful of the early presidents, guided the school from 1822 to 1845.

Washington Academy at Washington, Pennsylvania, was the successor of Dodd's school. Dodd had been conducting classes in a building on his farm since 1782. He was himself an excellent mathematician and emphasized, therefore, the teaching of mathematics in his school.[14] September 24, 1787, the legislature of Pennsylvania passed an act incorporating Washington Academy and endowing the institution with five thousand acres of land. Among the trustees of the new institution were Dr. John McMillan, along with several other ministers and Judge James Allison, later prominent as a trustee of Canonsburg Academy. Dodd was made principal of the new enterprise, so, in 1789, he closed his school on Ten Mile, moved his family to Washington, and opened classes to twenty

[12] Smith, *History of Jefferson College*, p. 59.
[13] Smith, *History of Jefferson College*, pp. 59-60.
[14] Smith, *Old Redstone*, pp. 144-45.

students in the upper story of the courthouse.[15] In the winter of 1790, fire destroyed the courthouse, and Dodd returned to his home on Ten Mile where he again opened his academy. When Washington Academy was reopened in new quarters, Johnston was in charge and continued as master until he went to the Canonsburg Academy in 1792. Succeeding Johnston as teachers were James Dobbins and Benjamin Mills. Under these men the academy had but indifferent success. In March, 1806, however, it was incorporated as Washington College, and Brown, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Washington and principal of the academy during the preceding year, was chosen its first president. Brown continued in this dual occupation of pastor and president until 1822, when he resigned to accept the presidency of Jefferson College, a position which he held until 1845, eight years prior to his death. Wylie, his predecessor at Jefferson College, succeeded him as president of Washington College. The college was in a flourishing state in 1820, but after the departure of Brown it began to decline. It was revived during the long administration of Dr. Daniel McConnaughy who served as president from 1831 to 1850, became a synodical college in 1859, and the seat of the combined Washington and Jefferson College when the union was perfected in 1865.

Except for the independent activities of the ministers in its behalf, Washington College was not a ward of the Presbyterian Church until it made synodical affiliations in 1859. The absence of official supervision, however, is not significant. Indeed, even in the affairs of Jefferson Academy, church government had become, since 1793, more and more nominal. Interested presbyteries collected funds for the schools, committees from the presbyteries sat as examiners at commencements of Jefferson College, and members of the presbyteries were active on the boards of trustees of both institutions. But boards of trustees became self perpetuating and consequently self-sufficient. Presbyterian support and leadership, however, was constantly evident. The official interest of the Presbyterian Church was primarily in providing for the education of ministers, and after the establishment of these pioneer colleges, the General Assembly turned its attention to this more specific purpose. The educational efforts of the organized church included the purchase and distribution of Bibles, books, and pamphlets of a moral and religious nature, the education of representatives of various Indian tribes for missionary service, the aiding of needy students from various presbyteries, and the establishment of theological seminaries, all of which efforts led to the organization of the General Board of Education in 1819.[16] The revivals of 1800 and the clashes with Methodists and schismatics over questions of ministerial education stimulated afresh the Presbyterian insistence upon thorough and liberal training,[17] and in 1809, three plans were presented to the General

[15] Alfred Creigh, *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg: B. Singerly (1871), p. 150.

[16] Presbyterian General Assembly, *Minutes*, 1789-1820, pp. 196, 229, 333, 714.

[17] See letter addressed by General Assembly to the Reverend David Rice of Kentucky, *Minutes*, 1804, *ibid.*, pp. 299-301.

Assembly for the establishment of theological seminaries. The plan adopted in 1811 resulted in the founding of a central seminary at Princeton in the following year. In 1820, the Synod of Pittsburgh expressed the need of a seminary within its bounds and agreed to establish and support such an institution at the site of Washington College, provided that school would unite with Jefferson College and remove to Canonsburg.[18] No further record of this suggestion appears, however; but in 1825, the General Assembly recognized the needs of the western country and authorized the establishment of the Western Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pittsburgh.[19]

Pittsburgh itself had no institution of collegiate rank until 1822, when the Pittsburgh Academy was reorganized as the Western University of Pennsylvania. In 1826 the Associate Reformed Church formed a theological seminary in Allegheny. In the more spacious years of the 1830's and 1840's, other sects established colleges in the Pittsburgh area, but during the more difficult years of the first two decades the schools of Presbyterian origin had the field to themselves. The Methodists, however, had established an academy at Uniontown, near Pittsburgh, as early as 1808, which they incorporated as Madison College in 1827.[20] But this school also came eventually under Presbyterian control.

[18] Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., Synod of Pittsburgh, *Records*, October 6, 1820.

[19] Sherman Day, *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia: G. W. Gorton (1843), pp. 68-9.

[20] Francis Asbury, *Journal*, New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 3 vols. (1821) II, p. 159.

CHAPTER II

TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY

In May, 1779, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act providing for the sale of Kentucky lands forfeited by Tory proprietors. In the next year, eight thousand acres of these lands were placed in the hands of thirteen trustees "as a free donation from the Commonwealth for the purpose of a public school or Seminary of Learning" to be erected in Kentucky County "as soon as the circumstances of the county and state funds" would admit.[21] The Virginia legislature adopted the name Transylvania Seminary and added twenty thousand acres to the original land grant. The Reverend David Rice, the Presbyterian minister at Danville, Kentucky, was chairman of the first board and for a time conducted the school in a log cabin on his farm in Danville. Location difficulties began and the first rumblings of denominational bickering were heard. As stated by Thomas Speed in the preface to Peter's *Transylvania University*, page 3:

> No university in the country was ever inaugurated on a broader and better plan. It was to be a central university, with a seminary in each county of the surrounding State to supply it with students. To inaugurate this system, each of the early counties in Kentucky was given six thousand acres of land by the state to secure necessary buildings and start its seminary. Had the system been adhered to, Transylvania would be one of the leading universities not only of this country but of the whole world. It was doomed, however, doomed to be sacrificed on the altar of denominational antagonisms.

Rice resigned, and the trustees advertised that they would meet with "any gentleman qualified, and willing to undertake the presidency of said school" in Lexington, "on the second Tuesday of May next in order to hear and make proposals on that subject."[22] In consequence of this meeting, a public school and a grammar school under the direction of the trustees of Transylvania Seminary were opened in June, 1789," at the public school-house near the Presbyterian meeting-house, in the neighborhood of Lexington."[23] Izaac Wilson, who had conducted a Latin, Greek, and Scientific school in Lexington,[24] was appointed master. In 1791, a lottery was held to raise funds for the erection of a building in Lexington[25] upon a three-acre plot, within the town, donated by the citizens. The

[21] Robert Peter, *Transylvania University; Its Origin, Rise, Decline and Fall.* Filson Club Publications No. 11, Louisville, Kentucky, I. P. Morton and Co. (1896), p. 20.

[22] *Kentucky Gazette*, Lexington, Kentucky, September 1; September 15; November 10, 1787.

[23] *Ibid.*, May 23 and June 6, 1789.

[24] *Ibid.*, January 12, 1788.

[25] *Ibid.*, April 30, 1791.

Reverend James Moore, an Episcopalian minister, was chosen president in 1792, but the anti-Presbyterian faction succeeded in supplanting him by electing the Reverend Harry Toulmin in 1794. Toulmin was apparently a Baptist, and as he was a brother of Josiah Toulmin, an English Socinian author, his appointment gave the Presbyterian faction grounds for partisan opposition. This group led by Rice, Moore, and the Reverend James Blythe, withdrew from the board and appealed to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for support in founding a rival seminary. The support was granted and the Kentucky Academy was erected and incorporated under Blythe at Pisgah, Woodford County, Kentucky, eight miles from Lexington, in 1793.[26] After two years of rivalry, a reconciliation was accomplished, and the schools agreed to consolidate. A new charter was obtained for the united schools, December 22, 1798, under the title of Transylvania University. In the meantime Toulmin had resigned in 1796, and Moore returned to the presidency.[27] The *Kentucky Gazette* of April 25, 1799, bore the following announcement by John Bradford, now chairman of the Board of Trustees:

THE TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY

Is now established on such a footing, that education may be had at it, on as extensive and as moderate terms, as at any institution of the kind in the union.

The Greek and Latin languages will be taught there, together with Mathematics, Geography, the Belles Lettres, and every other branch of learning, that makes part of the useful course of academic education.

A gentleman well qualified for that purpose will teach the French language.

Those who wish to study Law and Politics may do it to advantage, under a professor appointed for that purpose. An extensive law library is provided for the use of the students.

And, such as intend to study Medicine may be instructed in Anatomy, Chemistry, Surgery, Midwifery, and the Theory and Practice of Physic; there being two professors appointed on those different branches. Board may be had at the University at the moderate sum of fifteen pounds per year. For this sum students will be dieted and their cloathes [*sic*] washed and mended—they furnishing their own bedding, candles, and firewood in their own apartments. One of the teachers will reside in the house; consequently proper attention will be paid to their morals. . . .

The terms of tuition are four pounds a year . . . for those who taught the Languages, geography, etc. Twenty dollars a year for the students at law, with an addition of five dollars a year for those who make use of the law library . . . and twenty dollars a year for those who attend the professors of medicine. . . .

The term will commence on the 29th day of the present month.

John Bradford Ch. T. U.

In this manner was Transylvania University launched upon its hectic career with the Presbyterian faction in control. In 1804, James Blythe succeeded Moore as president and continued in that office for twelve years.

[26] Peter, *Transylvania University*, 61ff.
[27] *Kentucky Gazette*, Lexington, Kentucky, October 8, 1796.

The elevation of James Blythe to the headship of Transylvania University, a former faculty member appointed as professor of chemistry in 1802 during the Moore administration, ended a decade of liberal control under Harry Toulmin and James Moore. This period witnessed disunion under Toulmin and temporary harmony for only a short part of Moore's administration. Failure to agree on a president led to the board to choose Blythe for one year as head "unless a president is selected."

Probably because Blythe could not satisfactorily fill the duties normally assigned to the president, the trustees on November 1, 1804, elected Robert Hamilton Bishop as professor of moral philosophy, logic, criticism, and belles-lettres for one year. On the previous day Bishop had written to the chairman that he had attended the University of Edinburgh and had taken the required courses, which included Latin, natural and moral philosophy, and Hebrew. He left without a degree because he was a dissenter, and a diploma, he said, "is rarely of any use to a clergyman unless he is connected with the established church." He continued by saying that he would produce certificates or "stand an examination in presence of the Board, upon those branches which I propose teaching."[28] Blythe was expressly exempted from teaching the president's normal subjects, moral philosophy, logic, criticism, and belles-lettres, and the trustees asked him to discharge the duties of the presidency and to serve as librarian for one year. In view of the fact that Blythe was acting president of Transylvania University for a dozen years and did not sever his connection as a teacher finally until 1831, some comments from a contemporary are in order. William A. Leavy said that he was a diligent student and sought the last work in improvements, new methods, and apparatus. He had heavy eyebrows of light color and was an active and earnest minister. Animated in manner, of sanguine temperament, and a magnifier of his office, though affectionate and kindly in nature," said Leavy, "he was magesterial in his manner."[29] William A. Leavy also states that "Reverend James Blythe taught a select academy of young ladies in Lexington the branches of grammar, geography, chemistry, Natural Philosophy, etc., from the year 1806 to 1815 principally in a school room on Main Cross Street next door to the First Presbyterian Church in certain hours not employed by his college recitations. My Aunt Mrs. Nancy Bowman and Mrs. Tilford were his pupils, as also my wife and her sister, Mrs. Holland the Miss Ridgelys."[30]

In spite of the growing antagonism to Presbyterian domination, Blythe's administration was a prosperous one. New buildings were obtained,[31] and a competent law and medical faculty was assembled. Meanwhile,

[28] Walter Wilson Jennings. *Transylvania Pioneer University of the West. New York: Pageant Press,* (1955) pp. 58-9.

[29] Rev. Shane's Interview with W. A. Leavy, Draper Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

[30] William A. Leavy. "Memoir of Lexington and Its Vicinity." *The Register,* Kentucky Historical Scoiety, 41:137 (October, 1943) p. 345.

[31] Lexington *Reporter,* June 24, 1815.

however, the Kentucky Revivals swept the Ohio Valley with a wave of emotionalism and the conservative Presbyterian Church was torn with strife and secession. Following the resignation of the popular President Blythe in 1816 and the election of the Reverend Luther Rice, a Baptist,[32] the sectarian and political strife became so heated that the legislature was obliged to oust the Board of Transylvania and appoint a new one.[33] The new board procured Dr. Horace Holley to head the institution.

Under Dr. Holley, Transylvania had new and enlarged buildings. It had board for a hundred students in a refectory planned as non-profit. It advertised the cost of an education as below $175 a year. It used strict standards of admission and divided its school year into two semesters. It employed the regular academic system of four classes, for the faculty had proved responsive to the suggestions made by Holley on his spring visit. It now used to good effect the spirit of emulation. It advertised lavishly.

The laudatory advertising seems to have been justified by the character of the faculty. Holley himself worked especially hard in medicine and law. He even delivered two series of lectures on Blackstone and donated the money received to the university. He obtained the services of Jesse Bledsoe and William T. Barry. When the latter became lieutenant-governor, Holley took his place for two years and accepted money for only one year. During the absence of Bledsoe, 1825-1826, Holley again taught law. His medical faculty in 1825 consisted of James Blythe, Samuel Brown, Charles Caldwell, Daniel Drake, Benjamin W. Dudley, W. H. Richardson, and Charles W. Short. Among the other great teachers or scientists of the Holley administration, B. O. Peers in education, John Roche in languages, and Constantine S. Rafinesque in natural sciences tower high.

And what were the effects of a brilliant president, lavish and laudatory advertising, and an extraordinarily able faculty? During the sixteen years preceding Holley's arrival, Transylvania granted degrees to only twenty-two students; during his presidency it conferred degrees on 358 young men. On his arrival the school had 110 students. By the late winter of 1821 it had 282 students under thirteen teachers, credit for prosperity "beyond expectation" being given to President Holley. About the same time, according to *Niles Weekly Register*, March 24, 1821, Yale enrolled 319 students, Harvard 286, Union of Schenectady 264, Dartmouth 222, and Princeton 150.

One of the most significant things in the Holley administration was the influx of students from other states. The number of such students in 1826 was 282 out of a total of 418. With a normal enrollment in the law department the student body might have attained 450. Dr. Holley can scarcely be said to have made Transylvania a national university. Only five percent of his enrollment came from outside of the South. Of the twenty-five students north of the Mason-Dixon line, twenty were in the medical class. They included students from Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and one from New York. Obviously Transylvania was not national in scope.

[32] *Ibid.*, May 1, 1816.

Just as obviously, however, it was certainly southern in appeal. Virtually all of the non-Kentucky students in the "academical" departments came from the South. And though Kentucky contributed 101 students to the medical class, other southern states contributed 181. Three of them combined in this order, Tennessee, Alabama, and Virginia contributed more than did Kentucky.[34] But sectarian jealousies and political rivalries were to blast the future of this promising cultural effort which the Ohio Valley offered. Holley was a Unitarian and was subjected to bitter attacks throughout his administration. Presbyterian support was withdrawn to establish Centre College at Danville. Southern, Western, and Urania Colleges were projected and incorporated in a ruinous policy of retaliation which brought from William Gibbes Hunt a bitter editorial on "Local and Sectional Jealousies."[35] The clamor continued until Holley, in spite of apparent success and loyal support, was forced to resign. He left the University in March, 1827, and died in July of the same year. Transylvania University never fulfilled the promise of its budding season of the early 1820's. From 1842 to 1849, it was a Methodist College under Reverend Harry Bascomb. It became again a state institution in 1849 and was merged with the University of Kentucky in 1865.

James Moore, 1799-1804

James Moore was born of good parentage, devout and well trained in the Presbyterian faith, near Rockbridge, Virginia, in 1764 and lived the normal frontier life until he was fourteen. In 1782, already a voracious reader, he went to Washington Academy (now Washington and Lee) where he studied until 1789. Although the youngest student part of the time, he distinguished himself for independent thinking and theological ability.

At graduation he was tall, spare, gaunt, somewhat neglectful of dress. His seriousness had caused some students to ridicule him, and his timidity and reserve perhaps accounted for his few friends; yet his mastery of the flute, into which he seemed to pour out his heart and revealed his sincerity, doubtless attracted kindred spirits.

Moore came to Kentucky and became the teacher in Transylvania Seminary in 1791. His chief ambition was to become a Presbyterian minister. Trial sermons before experienced preachers were then necessary. His two sermons were sustained by the presbytery in 1792. It also sustained his examinations on Latin, Greek, geography, and natural philosophy, but asked him to lecture on *Revelation* 3:19. Communications with the Virginia Synod required time and not until November 12, 1793, did he give his discourse which the presbytery did not sustain, for it had been given from his notes, nearly a year old and cold. The presbytery, however, gave him another sermon and discourse, the final trial before ordination. A stated meeting of the presbytery sustained both; hence he believed that his trials of more than two years had ended. He was wrong.

[34] Walter Wilson Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-6.
[35] Lexington *Western Monitor*, December 7, 1819.

Some members of the presbytery had absented themselves from the meeting which had sustained his efforts. The absentees asked that the two sermons be repeated. To this request he replied that much labor and time had gone into his efforts and that more labor and time than he was willing to give would be required for repetition. His stubborness and the presbytery's harshness thus kept him from the Presbyterian ministry. The dictatorial presbytery decided that it could ask a candidate to appear as often as it desired, even though his efforts had been sustained. Moore did not appeal to the Virginia Synod, as he had a right to do.

Later, after his resignation from Transylvania Seminary, he visited his old home in Virginia. There Bishop Madison ordained him as an Episcopalian minister. Back in Lexington again, he collected Episcopalians, beating "canebrakes" and scouring "buffalo trails" as James Lane Allen wrote, and through hardships innumerable, and the aid of a lottery, he built a congregation and a place of worship with, at first, so great had his tact become, no marked opposition from the Presbyterians. In truth, they helped to elect him as president of Transylvania.

After his rather abrupt dismissal as president, he revealed interest in the university by serving as trustee until his health broke. Yet, his dearest interest was in ministering to the church until his death in 1814. James Lane Allen pictured his earnestness:

> White, cold, aflame with holiness, he stood before them; and every beholder, awestricken by the vision of that face, of a surety was thinking that this man's life was behind his speech; whether in ease or agony, he had found for his nature that victory of rest that was never to be taken from him. (James Lan Allen. *Choir Invisible,* (New York, 1897).

Although the Presbyterians early supported Moore, they left much to be desired in the way of favorable treatment. "I am under the painful necessity of representing to the Board," he wrote under date April 1, 1799, "that the salary which they give me is very inadequate to the support of my small family." "The proceeds from my farm," he said "has not hitherto paid for my firewood. My salary is only 100 pounds and I must find my own house and as your teacher must entertain some company. The board will doubtless make such arrangements," he concluded, "as will enable me to serve them in a proper manner, without injury to my family, to my condition, or to my reputation."

To assist the university to secure a strong faculty and with John Bradford in the chair of the Board of Trustees, on January 8, 1799, he selected Frederick Ridgeley and Samuel Brown as professors of medicine. The same meeting selected George Nicholas, of national renown, as professor of law and politics, but shortly because of his death, they filled the position with James Brown. Later on October 26, 1799, they appointed James Blythe as a professor. Shortly thereafter James Welsh was appointed professor of languages.[36]

[36] Walter Wilson Jennings. *Transylvania Pioneer University of the West,* pp. 36-9.

Harry Toulmin, 1794-1796

Harry Toulmin was born April 7, 1776, at Taunton, Somersetshire, England. His father was a minister and his mother a bookseller. In his early youth he was associated with Joseph Priestley, also a close friend of his father, and other persons of note who came to his mother's bookshop. Much of his early education was obtained in his mother's bookstore where he drank deeply of the writings of his father and other leading dissenters. For a while he studied at nonconformist Hoxton Academy. He then preached for two small churches as a Baptist Unitarian in Lancashire. He wrote three pamphlets: *Letters to the Inhabitants of Wigan, A Short View of the Life, Sentiments and Character of John Mort,* and *Thoughts on Emigration.* Toumlin developed an independence of mind which was to prove disturbing to those about him. His unitarian beliefs were to get him into difficulty.

In 1792 Toulmin came to America. In the United States he became acquainted with Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and others of the liberal Virginia school. Apparently America meant both escape and freedom for the young English minister. Through the influence of Jefferson and Madison he soon found himself on the Kentucky frontier and also, through the influence of these men, he became the president of the struggling Transylvania Seminary in 1794. His liberal English background had been given an additional emphasis by his contacts with the great liberals of America. Soon, however, the English thinker and scholar was to run amuck with the reactionary forces of the West. His unitarian views were to clash with those of the frontier fundamentalists. Toulmin's views and attitudes toward education were those of the free natural man while those of his patrons were of a more fundamental nature which placed a protective hedge about the spiritual man. When conflict arose, the result was the division of Transylvania Seminary into two parts. The Lexington division retained the original name, but the Pisgah branch was known officially as the "Kentucky Academy." The quarrel with deistic Toulmin led to the passage of the Kentucky Academy Act of 1794 which became a landmark in the beginnings of public education in Kentucky.[37]

A perusal of the "Minutes" and Toulmin's reports show some of the details of his short administration. The trustees on June 30, 1794, decided to charge forty shillings a year for tuition money in the English school. On the same date they also decided that the low state of the funds required the dropping of charity students. They, moreover, appointed a committee to confer with Toulmin "on the subject of repairing and rendering habitable the College house." They also authorized the president to "perform Divine service in the College house on any Sabbath he may think proper." Toulmin's report on the state of the seminary from June to October, 1794, shows the early conditions. The new teacher stated that when he took

[37] Thomas D. Clark, *A Description of Kentucky in North America: To Which Are Prefixed Miscellaneous Observations.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1945, Introduction.

office there were about a half dozen pupils. A gradual increase, he said, had taken place until the number was now thirty. These pupils were quite young and averaged a little more than twelve years of age. The lack of books, he said, had retarded four pupils, sickness had hurt two, afternoon attendance only had handicapped two, and the lack of board had hurt two. He likewise hinted that boarding of students on a general scale by some man might be worthwhile. Deportment, he said, had been praiseworthy, but more vigilance than he could give was necessary. And so he asked for help. Some pupils lacked proper reverence for God, he insisted.

At a meeting on October 6, 1794, the trustees appointed a committee of discipline to help the president and a second committee to aid in examinations. They also allowed three weeks for vacation. Their most important action, however, related to the course of study which Toulmin broadened. It provided for Greek, Latin, French, bookkeeping, astronomy, composition, elocution, geography, geometry, history, logic, moral philosophy, natural philosophy, and politics.

Toulmin, somewhat lacking in tact, had troubles in discipline. Eleven boys admitted guilt in throwing a ball through the seminary. On October 26, 1795, in a letter to the trustees, Toulmin said that he had reproved the boys and they had handed him this apology: "We are sorry for doing so but we believe that we have not damaged it and shall take care to avoid such play for the future." "I hope the board will have the goodness to accept it," Toulmin concluded.

The teacher like the pupils wanted to avoid Saturday classes. Toulmin proposed to the trustees that he add an hour to his schedule on some other day. There are not many students, he said, and those taking French do not have time to give regular exercises on Saturday. The chief reason for dispensing with his service on Saturday, he said, was the inadequateness of his salary. The expense of residing in town caused his removal to the country. "The number of pupils is not at present so great as to prevent my devoting an hour on some other day, to the examination of the exercises of those who have it in their power to prepare any," he insisted.

At the meeting of the board April 4, 1796, the treasurer's report indicated a balance of 32 pounds, 15 shillings with 306 pounds, 6 shillings, and 2 pence due the seminary from various funds. At this meeting Toulmin, despite his apparent satisfaction, as a committee reported September 12, 1795, and his willingness to continue "on Condition that the Balance of his Salary now due is paid in Cash," a condition which the trustees accepted, offered his resignation. The trustees ordered it laid on the table for the time being, but, of course, eventually accepted it. Toulmin, seems to have taught until September 23 of that year, when a new term was scheduled to start. His term actually expired October 1, 1796. Probably the most important cause of Toulmin's dissatisfaction was the question of salary.

Toulmin, well developed intellectually, liberal in attitude, very capable and a respector of the conscience, seemed to answer the desire of liberals

generally. He organized a well rounded curriculum judged by the standards of his day and attracted pupils, soon increasing the number from six to thirty. Decreases later occurred, perhaps due largely to lack of board and to religious opposition. The respect in which he was held seems apparent from Governor Garrard's choice of the ex-teacher as Secretary of State and Thomas Jefferson's appointment of him, in 1804, as a Federal judge in the Tombigee district of Alabama.[38]

James Blythe, 1804-1817

The first president of Transylvania University, Reverend James Moore, was succeeded in 1804 by Dr. James Blythe. Reverend James Blythe, M.D., was born in North Carolina in 1765 and was educated for the Presbyterian pulpit at Hampden-Sidney College. He came to Kentucky in 1791 and two years after was ordained pastor of Pisgah and Clear Creek churches. He continued to preach up to the time of his death. For six years before his accession to the presidency of Transylvania University, he was professor of mathematics and natural philosophy and often supplied the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church. He was president for nearly fifteen years and, after his resignation, filled the chair of chemistry in the medical college until 1831, when he accepted the presidency of Hanover College, Indiana, which prospered greatly under his administration. He was a faithful and animated preacher and excellent debater. He died in 1842.[39]

Blythe, unquestionably conservative and too inclined to think any questionable means acceptable if it helped the dominant Presbyterians, was a favorite with the Presbyterians. They preferred him over the brilliant James Madison and the conscientious and capable James Moore.

Although conditions improved under James Blythe, who was a sound administrator, the trustees were cautious. Because the teachers might drink or practice immorality or be unorthodox or reveal some other gross behavior, the trustees qualified appointments at times. For instance, on October 1, 1804, they appointed James Blythe and Ebennezer Sharpe (professor of dead languages) for six years if they "shall so long behave themselves" and provided that the professor of moral philosophy, logic, criticism, and belles-lettres serve one year. Shortly, November 1, as previously noted, they selected Robert Hamilton Bishop, as professor for one year and on April 3, 1805, for six years "if he so long behave himself." On October 10, 1805, they unanimously elected Henry Clay as professor of law and James Fishback as professor of medicine. Meanwhile, on April 3, 1805, they had appropriated $800 for the purchase of apparatus.

The course of study for students desiring a liberal education and seeking a degree consisted of: Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Xenophon, Homer, geography, logic, algebra, geometry, surveying, navigation, conic sections,

[38] Walter Wilson Jennings, *Transylvania Pioneer University of the West*, pp. 21, 22, 24, 25, 27.

[39] George Washington Ranck, *History of Lexington, Kentucky: Its Early Annals and Recent Progress*, Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Co., (1872), pp. 44-5.

natural philosophy including politics, the leading principles of jurisprudence, English grammar, rhetoric, belles-lettres, and criticism.

During the period of hard times (1815-1817) some intelligent citizens of Lexington began to visualize the university under a famous liberal president as a means of at least partial recovery from economic depression. If the school could be developed into a powerful university, it would bring hundreds of students from Kentucky and from other states. These students would spend hundreds of dollars each in Lexington. One speaker in the Kentucky Assembly stated in the Kentucky *Reporter*, December 17, 1821, even predicted, that the medical department alone saved the state $100,000 annually. Such expenditures, of course, would revive Lexington's economic life.

Many of the farsighted leaders also realized the great need for educated professional men in the growing West. The cry for doctors and lawyers was growing in intensity. Such professional people in the past had come from the East. Yet, poor transportation facilities and the long distances to traverse made expenses high. Then, too, there were somewhat peculiar diseases and institutions and laws to consider in the West. A western college could best supply the needed training. Transylvania graduates might be free from the suspicions of federalism and "habits of extravagance so often present" in the East, according to Westerners. State pride and Western self confidence made Kentuckians believe that better than could be done elsewhere they could furnish the needed education themselves. Still another factor causing many leaders to favor a greater Transylvania was the need for a high level of culture for professional people moving in Lexington's polished society.

An article in the *Niles Weekly Register*, June 11, 1814, stated of Lexington, Kentucky:

> . . . Society is polished and polite. They have a theatre; and their balls and assemblies are conducted with as much grace and ease as they are anywhere else, and the dresses of the parties are tasty and elegant. Strange things these in the "backwoods." The houses are mostly built of brick, and some of them are splendid edifices—one or two of the inns yield to none in America for extensiveness, convenience and good living. The streets are generally paved. . . .

Travelers frequently commented on the interest in letters, music, art, drama and the like. The Lexington Athenaeum won the favorable notice of various travelers, including Horace Holley, who was looking things over. Matthew Jouett, advertising as a pupil of Gilbert Stuart, was winning more than local fame. Holley insisted that his wife would be happy in Lexington society even if her tastes had been formed in the better society of the East. He commented:

> The town and vicinity of Lexington are very handsome [he wrote on May 27, 1818, to a wife reluctant to make the change.] The streets are broad, straight, paved, clean, and rows of trees on each side. The houses are of brick almost universally, many of them in the midst of fields, and have a

very rural and charming appearance. The taste is for low houses, generally two sometimes even but one story high, like English cottages.

One favorably impressed observer added to this complimentary remark on Lexington in 1819, this highly laudatory comment on the town as quoted by a local paper from the *Georgian*, Savannah, November 22, 1819:

> . . . Besides Lexington can compare with them (Boston and Philadelphia) in its society. There *"the learned, the gay, the witty and the grave"* can find congenial spirits. The population is large; the style of living magnificent among the devotees of the *beau monde;* and to a limited extent, the architectural elegance of the buildings is not surpassed upon the average, by the Eastern cities.

Yet many leaders with the forward look could not reconcile a great university with "Federal Presbyterianism" at the helm. They regarded the restrictive theological beliefs of Calvinism as discordant with the society the university was to serve. Children, they thought, should not be taught that horse races and theaters were sinful when, in the opinion of these liberals, they contributed to grace and fashionable living. These leaders, moreover, could see little worthy of praise in the records of the school from 1804 to 1815. The student body had never passed seventy; instruction was of poor caliber according to the educator, Mann Butler; and few students had graduated. Active funds had increased, largely due to the sale of escheated lands, but neither subscription, gift nor legislative action had resulted in marked ecquisition of property. Dissension within the board of trustees had prevented progress. Attempts in 1805 and 1809 to develop a medical school failed. The law school died in 1807. Nothing came of the 1812 plans for a new building and improved methods.

Liberals resented also the Presbyterian attitude toward the War of 1812. Kentucky's Henry Clay and Richard M. Johnson had favored the war and the people of Kentucky backed them vigorously. Senator John Pope, on the other hand, voted against the declaration of war. Many Presbyterian ministers and James Fishback, then a prominent layman, supported Pope. Some people even unjustly accused Fishback of being in treasonable correspondence with the enemy in Canada.

Fishback, who served in time as a doctor, a Transylvania professor, a lawyer, a candidate for the state legislature, and a Baptist minister, believed then in the orthodox Presbyterian position that God in revelation supplied the sole source of moral knowledge. This knowledge he held, was absolutely essential to the proper conduct of a republic. In his fallen state, man's intellectual powers and physical strength made him a "terror and a curse to his species." Christianity only could provide the proper means for effective use and direction of his powers. When Christian morality is established, republican government is a possibility, he believed. Then, he urged, legal union of religion and state is unnecessary, absurd, and at times harmful.

When President James Madison proclaimed January 12, 1815, a national Fast Day, both Rev. James McChord and James Blythe delivered sermons

critical of the public policy. "The heavens surely rule. Don't forget the Lord," was McChord's *National Safety* message. The fact that the sermon was published by request and the additional fact that the legislature presented him with $126 for his effort indicates that the public reaction was not immediately hostile.

Blythe's attack attracted more notice, for he was acting president of Transylvania University and perhaps the most widely acknowledged Presbyterian leader in the state. Bitterly opposed to the war he reputedly had trampled a copy of the declaration of the war under foot and had advised students against participation in it, quite an affront to the people who welcomed it with shouts, gun fire, and general jubilation, according to the Lexington *Kentucky Gazette*, June 30, 1812. Part of his hostility was due to the frightful massacre of a son at the River Raisin in 1812.

In his sermon Blythe insisted that as a nation we had completely failed to acknowledge "God the Saviour in all our ways, that He might direct our steps." He insisted that in no great national decree or proclamation or gubernatorial message had we recognized "God the Saviour." He called attention to the need, in his opinion, from not only general but local circumstances "which call for mourning and repentance." As an example of the latter he charged that Kentucky was "one among few of the American states, who in our legislative capacity acknowledge no God, no Providence, no Saviour. . . ." "The legislature of this state," he shamed, "meet, they legislate, and adjourn without once acknowledging God in all their ways, that He might direct their steps." Practical atheists, he said, controlled the state. He urged mourning and repentance. The ungodly government, he said, jeopardized our liberties, for control was vested in men whose dominant principle was "*self-love*" and "who have no fear of the living God before their faces." The duty of today, he insisted, is "to abhor ourselves, and repent in dust and ashes." He urged Christian people to unanimity and action against wicked rulers for "in every deed a wicked ruler is as absurd and as odious a spectacle as a profligate clergyman."

Temperatures boiled at Blythe's bitter sermon. One of the ablest answers appeared in the Frankfort *Kentucky Palladium*, edited by Joseph Buchanan, a former Transylvania medical professor and one of the ablest liberals in the West, and his partner, Robert Johnson. The author of the review which appeared in the *Reporter*, a local paper, March 13, 1815, Dr. Buchanan stigmatized the sermon as one of the angriest, most violent, and most uncharitable philippics ever "published from the American pulpit." Instead of trying to answer Blythe's statements he sought to prove the sermon favored a religious establishment, a purpose which few if any Presbyterians or others would admit.

During this tempestuous period, liberals continued their efforts to secure an acceptable president. Four of them, Hunt, Sanders, Morrison, and William T. Barry, on July 27, 1812, received the assignment to search for a suitable president. Inertia characterized them; and more than ten months later, June 4, 1813, they lost their power. Several months later

the trustees elected Dr. E. Nott, a Presbyterian minister, at a salary of $2,000, but he declined the position.

As soon as the war closed the liberals launched an active effort to drive out the Presbyterians and to secure as president a liberal in religion and a man of national reputation. At a public meeting at the courthouse June 5, 1815, the trustees chose Dr. John B. Romeyne, a prominent New York Presbyterian and then, notwithstanding the objections of seven members, chose Blythe for a quinquenium under a regulation which had been rescinded and then reenacted with the requirement that professor's salaries and duties be subject to board control. The trustees thus secured Blythe for a five-year term with unspecified duties. William T. Barry had made the motion and Lewis Sanders had seconded it, that the appointment of Blythe would be "permanently injurious to the University." James Trotter asked that their motion be tabled. It was 11 to 7 and Blythe received confirmation by the same vote.

The meeting of the trustees on November 11, 1815, also revealed the intention of the Presbyterian majority to disregard public opinion. Dr. Romeyne had rejected the appointment. The board reelected James Blythe as acting president and chose Dr. Thomas Cooper as professor of chemistry and related subjects. It also elected Horace Holley as president. The election of Holley was probably the result of ignorance of his views. James Prentiss, one of the trustees had reported that he was orthodox, but correspondence with Timothy Dwight, Jedidiah Morse, and Luther Rice revealed otherwise. Meanwhile growing doubts had led the board to instruct the committee appointed to notify Holley to defer its action. At this meeting, too, it asked all the trustees to investigate Holley's beliefs.

Dr. Thomas Cooper formerly had local, subscription, and newspaper support for the presidency at a salary of $2,250. A petition signed by a hundred prominent citizens of Lexington and vicinity urged the board to consider him carefully, for the "very announcement of his name would be a passport to public favor and patronage." He wrote to Dr. Frederick Ridgely on February 12, 1816, that he could get $3,000 in Philadelphia or go to Beaufort College, South Carolina, but that he preferred Kentucky. "I would not ask of your trustees," he wrote, "more than $2,000; I am not inclined to accept less."

The election of Dr. Thomas Cooper as professor of chemistry was a mere gesture intended to placate the liberals without affecting the school, for the conservative trustees deliberately kept the salary too low to tempt Cooper. The prospect had Republican principles and was a radical in religious matters. He had supported Jefferson in 1799, primarily as a pamphleteer. From 1804 to 1811 he had been a Pennsylvania state judge after which he served four years as professor of chemistry at Carlisle College. When he resigned in 1815, he wrote to Henry Clay relative to the Transylvania presidency.[40]

[40] Walter Wilson Jennings, *Transylvania Pioneer University of the West*, pp. 81-92; *passim*.

During these bickerings, the legislature was investigating affairs at Transylvania. The trustees in a counter move put up a weak defense in its behalf, but a committee was appointed by the board which came up with the following resolution:

> That a law ought to be passed appointing new trustees in the Transylvania University to hold their offices for two years, and that biennial elections to supply the board shall be made by a joint vote of both branches of the General Assembly.

When a resolution to table the report was defeated forty-one to thirty and the committee resolution was passed forty-six to twenty-eight, the trustees revealed alarm. They appointed a committee to seek a hearing before the Senate "to disprove unfounded and calumnious charges made against the board and its professors." They made John Pope their attorney and he at least collected a check of $50 from Andrew McCalla, board chairman "the fee appropriated for me attending to University business at Frankfort last session of the Kentucky legislature." James McChord prepared the board's answer. The sharp-spoken Humphrey Marshall called it so disrespectful as to be in itself sufficient justification for trying the trustees. Robert Hamilton Bishop asked permission to answer charges against him, especially on politics. The House on February 5, 1816, voted to table Bishop's request and also a resolution granting the trustees power to show, if they could, "why they should not be turned out of office." The vote was thirty-eight to thirty-seven with Speaker John J. Crittenden casting the deciding ballot. Two days later the House granted a reconsideration of Bishop's petition, fifty to sixteen. A select committee then considered student certificates that the charges against Bishop had no justification. The resolution regarding the trustees remained for consideration. The Presbyterians sought to defeat the resolution on biennial appointment of trustees by the use of riders proposing to move the university to Harrodsburg (thirty-one to thirty-eight), then to Danville (thirty-five to thirty-seven), and finally to Perrysville (fourteen to forty-four). After the defeat of these efforts, the liberals and their sympathizers passed the reorganization bill, forty-seven to seventeen. It was not considered in the Senate.

A vote of nearly three to one against the university management reflected strong popular feeling against the Presbyterians and their allies, the Associate Reform Church. The two groups probably numbered not more than three thousand in a state population of a half million.[41]

During the legislative session 1816-1817, no action was taken on the university. The board exposed to such severe criticism, now made some attempts to redeem itself. When Reverend James Blythe resigned in March, 1816, the institution was placed under the control of Reverend Robert Hamilton Bishop. A new building was begun and there was an increase in student enrollment. Some action was taken on the medical and law schools. The Reverend Philip Lindsley was elected president, but

[41] Jennings, *ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

declined to serve. By fall of 1817, new pressure was being exerted for the development of the school. The *Gazette* ran a lengthy editorial advocating the election of a liberal president of wide reputation, and denouncing that of Lindsley, who had no reputation and was a Presbyterian. At the meeting of October 1, 1817, a new effort to elect Horace Holley was made and failed, the vote standing six ayes and five blank votes. Sentiment, however, became so strong that it could not be withstood. He was successfully elected on November 15, 1817. The Republicans appear to have overlooked his Federalism in their enthusiasm for a real liberal, non-Presbyterian president of substantial reputation.[42]

Horace Holley, 1818-1827

With the election of Horace Holley to the presidency of Transylvania University, the conflict between liberalism and Calvinism in Kentucky became a conflict over Holley, his personality, his ideals, his objects, and his successes and failures. Should he prove successful in the promotion of the ambitions of the party of which he now was leader, i.e., in providing an effective liberal education for the youth of the country, the hopes of the Presbyterian clergy for the type of Christian society which they sought would be destroyed. In its stead, the already dominant cultured and gay society of gentlemen, of politicians, of lawyers, of those who loved life for what it was worth, would continue to prosper, and would become universally accepted. Before considering the ferocious death struggle which soon ensued, we must study Holley himself to see what his true character was, and why it should have served as an easy target for the enemies of liberalism, religious and political. Briefly put, Holley's most provocative characteris'ics were a candidly expressed liberalism in religion, an aristocratic and highly social disposition, and great success where his enemies had failed.

The new president of Transylvania University was born at Salisbury, Connecticut, on February 13, 1781, a son of Luther Holley, a New Englander who had risen from a farm boy to a man of considerable wealth, by business and farming. While not formally schooled, Holley was well read and exercised much formative influence upon the minds of his sons, Horace, Myron, and Orville, the latter who became prominent New Yorkers. He was liberal in his religious views, disregarding sectarian divisions, loving to contemplate God in his works in the history of man, and in the Scriptures. He held broad views of God's providence. His wife, Sarah Dakin Holley, although the daughter of a Baptist minister, did not accept the doctrine of predestination. The influence of such parents enveloped the youth of Horace Holley in an atmosphere of mild religion. He was sent to school when little over three years of age. After completing the elementary stages of education then available to him, he was put to work by his father in the family store. However, Holley soon felt strong

[42] Niels Henry Sonne, *Liberal Kentucky 1780-1828*. New York: Columbia University Press (1939), p. 153.

ambitions for a liberal education and in 1797, at the age of sixteen, went to an academy at Williamstown, to prepare for Williams College. This plan was changed and he entered Yale College in 1799.

At Yale, Holley had considerable success in academic affairs and received high approbation from Timothy Dwight. Here he first revealed those characteristics which marked him throughout life, a love for refined society and for leadership within it, an intense interest in mental philosophy, literary pursuits, and great oratorical abilities. While his father commended his ambition at this time, he found it necessary to caution him against taking too superior attitude toward those who follow the common workaday pursuits of life. Having brought this up on a letter of December 30, 1799, he referred to it again, in much detail on March 21, 1802. In 1803 Holley fell under the influence of the revival which was then occurring in New Haven. Soon after he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts and gave an oration at commencement entitled "The Slavery of Freethinking." In the following winter he spent some months in a New York law office, but tiring of this, he soon returned to New Haven to study divinity under Timothy Dwight. At this time he adopted the Hopkinsian theology, and tried without success to impart it to his liberal-minded father.

By September, 1805, Holley had married and completed his ministerial studies, and had become minister at Greenfield Hill, Fairfield County, Connecticut, at $360 per annum. He remained but three years in this charge, finally leaving because he could not adequately care for his family, or gratify his tastes at the salary offered. The honorable dismissal which he received from the Consociation of the Western District of Fairfield County in September, 1808, indicated that he still retained his reputable orthodox standing. After some canvassing, however, he accepted the ministry of the Unitarian South End Church, in Hollis Street, Boston. At the installation service, on March 8, 1809, Reverend Joseph Eckley preached, Reverend John Lathrop gave the charge, and Reverend John Thornthon Kirkland, soon to become Unitarian president of Harvard, gave the right hand of fellowship to the young pastor, before an audience of over two thousand.

It was in this charge that Holley achieved the success which gave him a national reputation. This was built principally upon his remarkable oratorical ability, which had now been fully developed. Many eulogies have been written upon his great effectiveness in the pulpit, but none perhaps is so authoritative as that of Loring in his *Hundred Boston Orators,* who states "and it may safely be asserted that Stillman and Holley were the most eloquent pastors that ever graced the Boston pulpit." As Holley was always adverse to publishing his sermons, only one has come down to us, and this from his Transylvania days. In other pastorial duties he was also effective, doubling the congregation and thus necessitating a new church. At the time of his death ten years after leaving the South End Church, great care was taken to pay adequate tribute to him an appropriate service and the delivery of a eulogy by the Reverend Mr. Pierpont. Holley's

interests in addition to his pastorate included memberships in the School Committee of Boston and on the Board of Overseers of Harvard University. He exhibited strong sympathy with the Federalist party in national politics.

At the time of Holley's acceptance of the presidency of Transylvania University, all that ambition could seek lay before him in the East. His opinions and character had won the strong approval of John Adams. He had been publicly recommended to the Trustees of the Independent Church of Baltimore, as a suitable occupant of their pulpit. Enroute to Kentucky he had been invited to preach before the House of Representatives in Washington, and had received high approval for his efforts. Again and again he was asked to return to Boston. From the standpoint of personal ambition, Holley's Yale biographer doubtless was correct in saying that the great mistake of his life was the decision to go to Kentucky.[43]

The religious position which Holley adopted during the period at the Hollis Street Church eminently qualified him for the presidency of Transylvania University, according to the standards and objects of its new masters. In the first place, he had adopted the position of rational and Catholic Christianity. This meant primarily the acceptance of the Bible as the sole standard of faith. Being that given by God and agreed upon by all, it was truly catholic and alone could properly command men's allegiance. Together with this went an interpretation of men's religious opinions not as absolute truths but as partial revelations, which progress toward a knowledge of eternal truth and are conditioned by the circumstances of life, chronological, sociological, historical, and so forth. This conception made it possible for him to look upon all sects with sympathy, though none *in toto*. On the other hand, Holley shared the liberal Kentuckians' opposition to Calvinism in all its aspects. Of this he had written: "The general progress of the mind, in the arts and sciences and in the knowledge of human nature, the progress of biblical criticism, and the growing influence of truth are all opposed to the prevalence of Calvinism."[44]

Holley assumed his post in November, 1818, and was formally inducted on December 19, 1818. At the service of induction, the chairman of the board of trustees administered the oath of office to Holley and to the instructors of the university and then "delivered to the President the keys of the College, as a symbol of his authority and charge. . . ."[45]

Transylvania University began to reap substantial rewards from its new organization upon Holley's acceptance of the presidency. The united board of trustees and the new, eminent president, could effectuate their purposes in concert. The new and much enlarged physical facilities, now completed, afforded not only adequate space for classroom exercises for the academic department but also lodging for one hundred students and

[43] Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, Vol. V, p. 588.

[44] Review of "A Contrast between Calvinism and Hopkinsianism," A General Repository and Review, III, p. 377.

[45] *Kentucky Gazette*, Lexington, Kentucky, December 25, 1818.

board in a refectory, priced upon a nonprofit, mutual-sharing basis. The total cost of education was advertised as less than $175 per annum. The course of education was greatly improved, the division of the academic year into the usual two semesters, the establishment of strict standards of admission, and the regular academic system of four classes. These changes were suggested by Holley during his visit in the spring and were put into effect before his settlement in Lexington.

Holley, as president, became professor of mental and natural philosophy and had the senior class under his special care. He introduced as textbooks Thomas Brown's *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind,* Hedge's *Elements of Logic,* Say's *Political Economy,* and Murray's *Grammar.* He preached at Sunday's services in the Chapel and, together with Professor Bishop, conducted a volunteer class in biblical criticism and theology,[46] in which such works as Paley's *Evidence of Christianity* and Butler's *Analogy* were discussed. Dr. Bishop, who had taught the courses officially belonging to the president, without commanding sufficient confidence to be made president, was made professor of natural philosophy. Bishop gave a practical display of professional jealousy toward Holley at this time by petitioning the trustees to give him the same salary as Holley, stating that the increase in students was due to himself since he had had charge of the university after Blythe's resignation. (Letter of December 19, 1818, Peter, *Transylvania University,* pp. 112-13.) There is no way in which to tell exactly what the number of full college students was at the close of the period when Bishop regulated the university. Robert H. Bishop, as acting president, did an excellent job in preparing the way for Holley and the enrollment in his period did pass the century mark. In truth, in an early session of the Holley era enrollment actually decreased. (Jennings, *Transylvania: Pioneer University of the West,* p. 298.) In October, 1817, just before Holley's election, there were altogether 77 students. (*Senate Journal,* 1825-26, pp. 145, 146). Upon the election of Holley, the announcement of his presidency, the completion of the new buildings, extensive advertisement, and the creation of a new board of trustees, more students came. When the university was placed in Holley's hands in 1818, Bishop said that there were 110 students in attendance. It is difficult, indeed, to believe that this growth was due to Bishop's personal influence, as he himself and his friends contended. Holley was actually president from the date of his acceptance, June 25, 1818, and Bishop was merely playing the role of stop-gap until Holley should personally appear. (Niels Henry Sonne, *Liberal Kentucky, 1780-1828,* pp. 172-174).

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the spirit of emulation and ambition which Holley introduced, by the example of vigorous activity, by many practical demonstrations of intellectual achievement, and by his great oratorical abilities. As the course of study was now designed to lead to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts, these became

[46] *Kentucky Reporter,* Lexington, Kentucky, March 5, 1821.

definite objectives. Holley also gave meaning to the students' work by employing a system of weekly exhibitions at which they could display to a cultured audience their progress in oratory, literature, and science. The judgment of numerous contemporaries and biographies of many eminent graduates give telling testimony to the high quality of the instruction now afforded, especially by Holley. Indeed, it was not long before the university had acquired a national reputation and could compete with the great eastern colleges in number of students and repute.[47]

Holley's home became the center of much social activity. An ample salary, and a graceful, accomplished wife, Mary Austin Holley, a relative of the powerful Texas Austins, enabled him to extend his hospitality to many of the greatest men of his time: President Monroe, General Jackson, Marquis de la Fayette, and, very frequently, to Henry Clay, his friend and constant supporter. His home was open to the genteel families of the town, professors, and those students whose talents he wished to encourage. Holley was the life of any party he attended. He enjoyed conversation very much and liked argument for its own satisfactions, often being willing to assume a position for discussion's sake. Yet when properly aroused by those who wished to take advantage of him, he could be stern and cutting enough to produce lasting wounds.

Transylvania's new president was described by his wife as possessing "clear and expressive eyes" and "black, fine, and silky" hair in his youth. As age advanced, "the hair retreated," she said, "from his fair polished forehead until but a remnant was left upon one of the most classic heads ever displayed to view."

Storm clouds, however, were gathering over this idyllic scene in Lexington. "Common Sense" in the *Western Monitor,* August 17, 1819, and August 24, 1819, sought faults in Holley, even critizing his use of words. He asked why so many pens were marshalled to answer the criticisms of Holley by one styled "an ignorant booby." And he replied: "The galled jade winces."

"Common Sense" insisted that Holley criticized adversely everything in Kentucky, but that he would spoil his language by the use of parenthetical expressions rather than lose a dinner.

The Presbyterians, meanwhile, absolutely sincere in their condemnation of Holley took steps to found a so-called "College of Kentucky" as reported in the *Western Monitor,* November 28, 1818, and December 5, 1818. Their synod address emphasized the importance of a Bible school and declared that the "temporizing sophistries of socianism were utterly subversive of the whole system of Christianity." They insisted that they wanted to guard the morals and best interests of youth "from those snares

[47] *Western Monitor,* May 8, 1821. Notes commendatory notices in *National Intelligencer* (Washington); *Richmond Enquirer; New York American;* etc. *Kentucky Reporter,* February 23, 1820, quotes favorable articles from *Pittsburgh Gazette; Unitarian Miscellany; Niles Weekly Register.* Baltimore often noted and praised the progress of the new administration.

which are at present planted in the principal seat of science amongst us." We want to practice charity the synod insisted, but we will guarantee forever "the fundamentals principles of the Christian system." We will not exclude the Bible from our seat of learning.

Presbyterian opposition increased during the summer of 1823. It revealed its greatest intensity in the *Literary Pamphleteer* definitely planned at the close of October, 1823, and appearing in six numbers, December, 1823, to March, 1824, inclusive. The first charge was that Holley inculcated principles which he had disavowed when he first came to Lexington and that in the Methodist Church he specifically stated "that he would not attempt to change the religious sentiments of the people in this country." To prove that Holley had broken his promise the editor quoted from the Episcopalian *Articles of Religion* (IX), John Wesley on original sin, the Presbyterian Westminister Shorter Catechism, and the position of the Baptist Church and the Evangelical congregation of New England relative to human depravity. Hoping to secure the peace, Holley had called himself orthodox, as stated by John Lyle, William L. McCalla, and Adam Rankin. "That Mr. Holley discards it [original sin], that he ridicules, and turns it into burlesque is shown" by certificates furnished by S. D. Blythe and James C. Todd, and supported in the main points by Samuel P. Pressley, George W. Ashbridge and Simeon Crane, Transylvania graduates, and by John R. Moreland and others relative to the doctrine of human depravity. Sam P. Pressley, a graduate of 1821, testified that Holley called "the common doctrines of depravity a slur upon our nature" originating "from false views of mental science" and inconsistent "with God's moral government." George W. Ashbridge and Simeon Crane who attended Holley's classes in 1822-23, testified that Holley asked: "What do you think of those who go about the country like braying asses, and telling God what poor Hell deserving scoundrels they are, and who burn brimstone under the noses of the people?" John R. Moreland, a minister, under date of November 11, 1823, testified that he heard a Transylvania student "at the last exhibition defend the absolute sinless perfection of human nature at great length" and reproach bitterly people of the contrary opinion as revilers of their species, libelers, and slanderers of their God."

Surely six witnesses established a fact, opponents urged. By denying a fundamental doctrine and by inculcating "the opposite Sectarian Socinian error upon his students," Holley has represented ministers of Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist and the Evangelical Congregational Churches of New England as "braying asses and scoundrels, who burn brimstone under the noses of the people." That Holley employed profane and jesting anecdotes to get over a point was attested by three witnesses.

In a criticism of the teaching staff at Transylvania University, "A Citizen" stated:

> The professors and teachers under the new administration with the exception of two or three are far from being what they ought to be. Some of them may possess learning and talents, but the principles and manner according to

which they are applied, and the many foolish and ridiculous things taught and dearly paid for, turn the scale against them and merit reprehension.[48]

By far the most provocative part of "A Citizen's" production was that dealing with Holley's religious and moral character:

> And what are the principles he [Holley] maintains, and inculcates upon the students? Why principles which he disavowed when at first endeavoring to conciliate the confidence and good will of the people; and which were then, and are still considered by all denominations, except his own, as hostile to the Christianity of the Bible. Does he not degrade the Savior of the World to the level of a Socrates, a Plato and a Zoroaster? Ask those best acquainted with him, ask the sober and religious students who have sat under his lectures, if he is not in the habit of jesting on the sacred Scriptures, and turning into ridicule the distinguishing doctrines of our Holy religion. They can tell you, that though a professed minister of the Gospel, his principles differ little from those of gross infidelity. . . .
>
> But what is the character of Mr. Holley in a practical point of view, and as an example to youth. The Theatre, Ballroom, the Card table, and all those places to which the vain and dissipated resort, as places of amusement, are places to which he resorts, and is their warm advocate. Thus both by precept and example he is well qualified to lead youth in the way of the destroyer.[49]

"A Citizen" concluded this astonishing production with the accusation that the plan of education at Transylvania was defective, and with a call to all interested citizens to weigh his charges, and, should they be found correct, to call for a legislative remedy.[50]

From the beginning of Governor Desha's administration, Holley feared the effect of the governor's anti-intellectual sentiments might have on Transylvania. Desha had been in office only six weeks when Holley wrote him: "I had hoped to have an opportunity to see you before the meeting of the legislature; but that privilege is not likely to occur. I am desirous to have you understand the general conditions of our state Institution. . . ." Holley went on to invite Desha to visit his home the next time the Governor was in Lexington. He felt that a personal conversation on the matter would be most helpful. Desha did not visit Holley, but he did come to Transylvania on the occasion of Lafayette's visit the following summer. He sat on the stage at the program honoring the famous Frenchman.[51]

The first indication that Desha intended to harass Transylvania and her famous president came just after he assumed office. In the fall of 1824, Kendall's *Argus,* Frankfort, leveled a violent attack at the school and Holley. At the same time, Desha asked the General Assembly to appoint a committee to investigate Transylvania. Robert Carneal served

[48] *Literary Pamphleteer,* I, p. 15.

[49] *Literary Pamphleteer, ibid.*

[50] Niels Henry Sonne, *Liberal Kentucky, 1780-1828,* pp. 170, 171, 172, 173; *passim.*

[51] Edsel T. Godbey, *The Governors of Kentucky and Education, 1780-1852,* 32:4 (June ,1960), *Bulletin* of the Bureau of School Service, College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington, p. 57.

as chairman of the committee. It did little except to submit a series of questions to the trustees about the school's finances, salaries, curriculum and rules. Carneal was not hostile toward the school and simply saw his task as one to gather information.

Holley's response to the questions impressed the committee and the Senate. The committee stated: "The report of President Holley, indicates an extensive range of well selected studies, such as must generally meet the approbation of an enlightened community."[52] Holley's report filled nine pages of the Senate Journal and was, indeed, complete.

Desha had always been a man of extremes. He hated his enemies bitterly and swore by his friends. Most of the acquaintances tended to fall into one of the two categories. After 1825 he became violent and vindictive. Desha had not mentioned education in his first message, but on November 7, 1825, he turned violently on Transylvania, charging that the institution was serving only the state's aristocracy, that its president was overpaid, and asked that money be taken away from Transylvania and given to a system of public schools:

> This institution has been a favorite of the state and has drawn with a liberal hand upon the funds of the people. Yet . . . its benefits have not equalled the reasonable expectations of the public; for several years its expenditures have been extravagant in amount, and lavished upon objects which were calculated to make the State but an inadequate return for her almost unbounded liberality . . . a compensation allowed the president, directly and indirectly, is twofold higher than is paid to the highest officers of our State government, and wholly disproportioned . . . to the services rendered . . . the State has lavished her money for the benefit of the rich, to the exclusion of the poor. . . .[53]

In his message to the legislature in 1826, Desha again attacked Transylvania: "Our University . . . has ceased to unite the confidence and affections of the people." He went on to chide the legislators for their past failure to establish a system of schools and for diverting the proceeds of the Bank of the Commonwealth from the Literary Fund into the general treasury.[54] Soon after Governor Desha's first attack upon the university, Holley resigned. He felt that having withstood so much abuse, this went a bit too far. The pressure of his friends induced him to retract his resignation. Three factors led him to a final resignation early in 1827. The declaration of his determination to leave had had a devastating effect upon the enrollment of students. The total number had dropped from 419 in January, 1826, to 286 in January, 1827. There had been a decline of 42 in the academic department, and of 92 in the medical department. The law school was suspended. Secondly, Holley had received a slash

[52] *Senate Journal*, 1824-25, p. 130.

[53] House Journal, 1825, 7. The Lexington *Reporter* voiced the opinion of the opposition to the Governor's remarks: "His Excellency's bitterest feelings seem to be enlisted against Transylvania University. In endeavoring vandal-like to excite popular prejudice against that institution and pull it down." (*Reporter*, November 14, 1825)

of $1,000 per year in salary in October, 1826. Thirdly, Governor Desha had made the new attack already mentioned. With Holley's removal from the university (March 24, 1827) the decline in the student body was even more marked, and in December, 1827, there were but 184 students, 157 medical and 27 academic.

A large group of people attended Holley's departure from Lexington to build a university in Louisiana. A few months later he died at sea, from a sickness contracted aboardship.

After accepting Holley's final report, the trustees set themselves to work to recoup the ground lost by the university. They opened negotiations with Reverend Thomas McAuley and Reverend Alva Woods, regarding the presidency. They concerned themselves with the finances of the school, raising $11,000 through local subscriptions and commencing a new medical building. Yet conditions were such that the trustees sent a memorial to the legislature on December 10, 1827, asking for much needed support.

However, the enemies of Transylvania were by no means content with having driven out Holley and destroyed the academic department completely. In his message of 1827, Governor Desha asserted that "hints" had been thrown out that the trustees had not proceeded with due caution in handling the university's funds and urged a legislature investigation to ascertain facts. On December 10, Mr. Davis of Ohio County urged in the House that a joint committee of investigation be established. On December 14 the House adopted a resolution to investigate, without conjunction with the Senate. The trustees' report and memorial were placed in the hands of the committee established for the purpose. A resolution that the committee be required to visit the university was tabled after two readings and amendments. The trustees submitted a lengthy letter, answering questions set by the committee. This production was marked by a strong effort on the part of the trustees to justify their whole course. On January 23, 1828, Mr. Davis of the investigating committee reported:

> Your committee find the report of the trustees of that institution a correct expose of its situation and means.They have investigated the conduct of the trustees in its management, and believe that they have acted with a view to promote its prosperity: but they find that great dissatisfaction has prevailed in the public mind in relation to this institution and its concerns. For the purpose of giving satisfaction to the public, to give confidence, and unite the great body of the people in support of this once celebrated institution of learning, your committee, therefore, recommend a new election of trustees.[54]

The committee thus suggested the election of a new board, a step urged by the trustees themselves. A resolution to table a bill to this effect until June 1 was rejected. On January 31, 1828, a joint vote of both houses created a new board of trustees, containing all the old trustees, except three who wished to withdraw, and introducing four new trustees, one of whom filled an existing vacancy.

[54] House Journal, 1825-26, 8.
[54] House Journal, 1827-28, pp. 250-51.

An investigating committee from the senate also very fully vindicated the trustees from the charge of carelessness with respect to the Morrison bequest. Stories which had been circulated to the effect that Henry Clay held the residuary legacy unlawfully were completely quashed. Most interesting, however, was the committee's treatment of the charge that the trustees had used their powers with political considerations in view. "The committee would, it is believed, exceed the bounds of their duty and their privilege to attribute to improper motives in the Trustees, that, which so far as the committee can know, was the result of a full deliberation, and of consciousness of rectitude in the discharge of the official duty."[55]

The faculty, just prior to Holley's resignation, had urged the choice of a successor who was a clergyman, with a view to conciliating the religious denominations. Henry Clay was also to become an advocate of a similar choice.[56] In the succeeding fifteen years Transylvania University was guided by four presidents, Reverend Alva Woods, a Baptist, who served three years, leaving his post in 1831. The next choice was the Reverend Benjamin Orr Peers of the Episcopal Church, who quarreled with the trustees and resigned February 1, 1834. He was succeeded by Reverend Thomas W. Coit of Massachusetts and his successor was the Presbyterian historian, Reverend Robert Davidson.

The ideal of a great central state university, open to all religious denominations and conducted on liberal principles, had been effectively destroyed. With it went the possibility of the domination of liberal religious opinion in the state.

Collegiate education now became the function of the small denominational college. With the steady growth of denominations, it was a matter of time before their ascendancy over liberal thought had been achieved. With the definite stabilization of society, Presbyterianism, with its upper class values, obtained a strength it had not possessed in frontier days, while other denominations also continued to grow. Thus a revision of the early ideal of religious freedom was achieved, based upon the growing power and assertiveness of organized Christianity, and upon the positive threat of another such demonstration of violent hostility as that shown against Holley. It would indeed be a bold man who would expose his reputation and talents to an onslaught such as suffered by Holley. It would be a rash board of trustees which would invite such opposition to their institution. The natural consequence was that the passage of years saw Kentucky becoming increasingly an orthodox Christian state, after the manner conceived by the Presbyterian opponents of the War of 1812.[57]

[55] *Kentucky Reporter,* March 19, 1828.

[56] Harry Richmond Lynn, "Henry Clay and Transylvania University," (thesis) University of Kentucky (1930), p. 48.

[57] Niels Henry Sonne, *Liberal Kentucky 1780-1828,* pp. 257-261.

CHAPTER III

DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGES IN KENTUCKY

Between 1839 and 1842, Transylvania University was virtually a municipal institution. The state retained a nominal interest and the medical department maintained its academic independence, but it was the Lexington City Council that determined the financial policy of the school. The undergraduate division, known as Morrison College, was even more closely supervised by the city government. In 1841, it was the influence of the City Council more than any other group that determined "the property of the university would be promoted by giving the control of the academical department either to the Presbyterian, Baptist, or Methodist Church."[58] This recommendation caused several resignations on the Board of Trustees but the City Council had its way and in 1842 Morrison College was offered to the Kentucky Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the prominent Methodist clergyman, Henry Bideleman Bascom, became president. But even during Bascom's administration (1842-1849) the city officials kept a watchful eye on the college and in certain cases openly interfered.[59]

Bascom was able to improve the condition of Morrison College by paying off a mortgage that had become a burden. He increased the enrollment, endowed certain professorships, and reorganized the curriculum. The buildings were repaired although he had to take the money out of the professors' pockets to pay the contractors and carpenters. Bascom had no authority over the medical and law departments of Transylvania but these schools enjoyed renewed vigor during his presidency.[60] There are many indications that Bascom was not happy at Transylvania. In the first place, his authority was limited by influential "friends of the college" and by stubborn and narrow-minded trustees who had their fingers in the collegiate pies at the wrong time. Bascom quarreled with members of the Board who wished to make changes in the faculty without justifiable reasons. On one occasion he tendered his resignation when the Board insisted certain professors be removed from the staff. The trustees ignored his resignation, expelled the professors, and then remained silent when Bascom received the condemnation of the public.[61]

In addition to this trouble, Bascom, as a Methodist leader, became

[58] Lexington City Council Records, 1840-1843, p. 235.

[59] After Bascom's resignation in 1849, the City Council requested a monthly report from the faculty. Lexington City Council Records, 1851-1854, p. 30.

[60] M. M. Henkle, *The Life of Henry Bideleman Bascom,* (Nashville, 1854) p. 279.

[61] Bascom's Diary, February 2, April 17, 1846 (MSS in Transylvania Library, Henkle, *The Life of Henry Bideleman Bascom,* p. 291.

involved in the slavery controversy that was to split the Methodist church along sectional lines. Then, too, there was the question of Transylvania being officially accepted by the Kentucky Conference and the Methodist Episcopal Church South. It was the conviction of the Methodists that would never accept the institution as a church college that caused Bascom's resignation in 1849. This time the pleading of the Board fell upon deaf ears.

Mid-century found Transylvania University only a shadow of its former self. In desperation the trustees offered the institution to the Grand Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. After giving careful consideration to the future prospects of the university, the Grand Lodge politely refused the offer. Even the Medical School showed definite signs of decay in spite of the fact that such prominent men as Robert Peter were on the staff. Peter made one last effort to save the school by organizing a medical department in Louisville under the auspices of the Masonic University of Kentucky. The new adventure was called the Kentucky School of Medicine and its staff was controlled by the Transylvania doctors who continued to teach in Lexington during the summer.[62] However, after controversies with the Louisville Medical Institute and various other difficulties concerning real estate, the Transylvania professors gave up their Louisville connections and returned to Lexington in 1854. Even the most ardent supporters of Transylvania were now very skeptical about the institution's future. "I have no idea that your school will ever do much" declared one of Robert Peter's friends in 1855.[63] These words were prophetic.

While Transylvania was losing prestige, its offspring and rival, Centre College, was gaining strength and importance. After the Presbyterians lost control of Transylvania's board of directors in 1818 the church decided to establish a private denominational college in Danville, Kentucky. Accordingly, a group of influential leaders petitioned the state legislature for the legal privilege of establishing a Presbyterian institution. On January 21, 1819, the first charter of Centre College was signed and sealed. But Centre College did not become an actuality for several years primarily because the Kentucky Synod was dissatisfied with certain stipulations in the initial charter. In particular, the church officials objected to the clause which stated that "no religious doctrines peculiar to any one sect of Christians shall be inculcated by any professor in said college."[64] Furthermore, the Presbyterians were vexed to discover that the board of trustees which included ex-governor Isaac Shelby was not exclusively Calvinistic. Their denominational school appeared to be non-sectarian and under the circumstances the Presbyterians refused to recognize the school and the Kentucky Synod refused to endow it.

[62] Minutes of Transylvania University, June 15, 1846; Lexington City Council Records, 1851-1854, pp. 97-98.

[63] J. R. Allen to Robert Peter, Keokuk, July 28, 1855. (MSS in the Peter's Collection.) See also, A. Schue to Robert Peter, Shelbyville, Ky. March 15, 1855, *ibid.*

[64] Kentucky Acts, 1818-1819, pp. 618-621.

In 1823, the Presbyterians were so thoroughly aroused by Transylvania's liberalism that they made another determined effort to establish Centre College as a Calvinistic school in which "legitimate biblical instruction" would form an important part of the curriculum. After considerable agitation, the state released an amended charter (January 27, 1824) with the stipulation that Centre College would be sectarianized as soon as the Kentucky Synod endowed the institution with $20,000.[65] This was accomplished before the end of the decade and so by 1830 Centre had become a strictly denominational college.

The founders of Centre College had no doubt about where they wanted to locate the school. They included in the second section of the original charter, passed by the Kentucky legislature, January 21, 1819, the following language: "Be it enacted that the Centre College of Kentucky shall be located within one-half mile of the town of Danville."

They complied fully with that provision by building on a lot adjoining the location of the "Presbyterian Meeting House," which in turn had been described as being "on the west side of town" in a resolution approving it as a "Place for adjournment for Prayer" in the closing session of the Kentucky Constitutional Convention in 1792.

The college and the church still occupy these same sites today, and although the town has grown around them and encircled them there has never been the slightest encroachment on the sacred grounds of "Old Centre" or of the "Old First Church."

Since there were no dormitories in the early years, the founders were doubtless relying on the hospitality of Danville homes to provide lodging and board for the first students. This reliance was not misplaced. The best homes in the community were opened to students, and even after dormitories came into use and fraternity houses were opened, many students continued to live with Danville families, enjoying all the privileges and comforts of the most congenial surroundings, but without the allurements of gayety or temptations of conviviality, available in larger cities. This arrangement continued for more than a hundred years, or until the gradual disappearance of large multi-room houses and the loss of servants to help keep them.

For many years one of the great strengths of the college was believed to be the close association of students and townspeople, and alumni always boasted many friends in Danville aside from their college connected friends. At the same time Danville always followed the careers of successful graduates with pride equal or surpassing that of their hometowns. The boast of Danvillians was never that "I know the Chief Justice" or "I know Senator So-And-So;" it was always that "I knew the Chief Justice, or I knew the Senator when he was a student at Centre College."

Governor T. T. Crittenden of Missouri, a member of the Class of 1855, referring to the Danville area, put it this way: "There is an

[65] Kentucky Acts, 1824-25, pp. 63-4; See also William Warren Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, II, The Presbyterians (New York, 1936) pp. 74-75.

indefinable something in the air, soil, and society of this place which makes it the natural location of colleges. Its history is an encyclopedia of examples and precedents which invite the greatest admiration and most critical examination."

Delivering a Commencement address in the Second Presbyterian Church in 1899, Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson, a member of the Class of 1855 referred to the community in terms of highest praise: "Forty-three years ago, after a journey of four days from my home in Illinois, I saw Danville for the first time. The last day's journey by stage coach from Lexington, was over country as picturesque and delightful as any upon which mortal eyes have rested. No less picturesque and beautiful than the old historic highway from Coventry to Stratford declared by Sir Walter Scott the most glorious in all England. I vividly recall the kind and cordial greetings with which I was received here. What a splendid galaxy was here. In college, in seminary, in the pulpit, and at the bar, were men fitted for the most exalted stations in the church or in the nation."[66]

As early as 1824, Danville was providing education for young ladies in the Danville Female Academy, and in 1860 more than 800 students a year were attending school in Danville, Centre College, Kentucky School for the Deaf, the Ladies Seminary, the Danville Theological Seminary, Caldwell Institute which had formerly been Henderson Institute, the Danville Classical School and several private schools for boys and girls. In later years some of these institutions were discontinued, but others were started such as Bell Seminary, Kentucky College for Women, Danville Collegiate Institute, Danville Military Academy, Hogsett Academy, and the Centre Preparatory School.

During the formative period (1819-1830) the two most important presidents of Centre College were the Reverend Jeremiah Chamberlain and the Reverend Gideon Blackburn.[67] Chamberlain, who occupied the presidential chair from 1822 to 1826, was partly responsible for the new charter of 1824. Blackburn was appointed president in 1827 and became known for his aggressiveness and oratorical ability. It was during his administration that an attempt was made to establish a theological department on a permanent basis but insufficient money and the lack of a proper teaching staff brought only disappointment and the project was abandoned in the early thirties. Some idea of the slow development of the liberal arts college at Centre may be obtained from the fact that up to 1830 only twenty-one degrees had been granted. At Blackburn's first commencement in 1828 there was a long program of nine orations and one prayer, but only three diplomas were presented.[68]

[66] Enos Swain. "Tribute to Danville As A College Town," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Louisville, Kentucky, 43:3, (July, 1969), pp. 230-31.

[67] Barksdale Hamlett. *History of Education in Kentucky, Bulletin* of Kentucky Department of Education, 7:4 (July, 1914) p. 295, (discussed under Central University.

[68] *The Commentator*, July 26, 1828; Centre College Catalogue, (1890) p. 6.

With the appointment of Reverend John Clark Young to the presidency in 1830, Centre began to move slowly toward a permanent academic policy and financial security. It was not an easy position that this young educator inherited. The total enrollment of students, including the boys in the preparatory department, was only thirty and some of these left school after Blackburn's resignation, expressing as they did so, general dissatisfaction with the institution. Although $36,000 had been raised up to this time most of it had been spent for buildings and operative expenses. Consquently when Young assumed his new responsibilities the financial cupboard was bare. An outspoken and critical press added to his difficulties although all Kentucky colleges were under fire throughout the thirties. "We have not so much as one institution which can be spoken of as an honor to our state,"[69] asserted *The Commonwealth*, and this attitude was typical.

There was one factor that was to Young's advantage. Since the resignation of Horace Holley, Transylvania University had lost prestige and public confidence in the Lexington institution had been greatly weakened. Thus the principal source of collegiate competition was much less potent than in previous years and no longer to be feared.[70] Young was quick to grasp the significance of this situation and he proceeded to make the most of the opportunity.

During his administration of twenty-seven years, President Young became so closely identified with Centre that he was regarded by some of his contemporaries as indispensable. It was said that Young was Centre College and that Centre College was Young.[71] While this was probably exaggerated praise, it was an indication that he was making a contribution and that his personal popularity was widespread. The fact that the college was growing and beginning to prosper was the most solid proof of the president's ability. Classroom and laboratory equipment was improved, the curriculum was enriched, and the attendance figures mounted. In 1857, the registrar's books showed an enrollment of 225 students. Most important of all, Young secured an endowment of $100,000 from the Synod of Kentucky.[72] When Young died in 1857, Centre had been transformed into a first-class college and the foundation had been laid for many years of excellent service in higher education.

While Centre was probably the most successful of the church-related colleges established in Kentucky after 1820, the founding and development of Georgetown College by the Baptists was a movement of major importance in the history of denominational education in the West. The

[69] *The Commonwealth*, February 10, 1836.

[70] Alvin T. Lewis. *History of Higher Education in Kentucky* (Washington, D.C., 1899) p. 116.

[71] R. T. Irvine. Historical Address Before the Alumni of Centre College, June 10, 1823, (Danville, 1923), pp. 26-9.

[72] Ralph Fred Peters. "Growth and Development of Standard A Grade Four Year Colleges and Universities in Kentucky," (Thesis), University of Kentucky, (1923) pp. 117-127.

college was established in 1829 and it enjoyed the distinction of being the first of its kind in the West and the fifth Baptist school in the nation. Having acquired the property of an old academy and with an endowment of $26,000 contributed by friends, the new institution was launched with considerable enthusiasm. When classes started in January, 1830, however, the college was without a president and there was only one instructor on the teaching staff. This was Thornton F. Johnson, of Virginia, who was professor of mathematics; but, if necessary, he could teach several additional subjects including French and experimental philosophy. Since the teaching staff was not complete for several years, it may be assumed that Johnson was called on to perform various professional duties in order to keep the student body of fifteen interested and occupied.[73]

Securing a man for the presidency of Georgetown proved to be a difficult task for the board of trustees. The first man elected to the position died before he could reach the new post. Following this unfortunate event, the position was offered to Stephen Chaplin of Washington, but he declined the invitation. The third choice was Irah Chase, a New England educator, but one visit to Georgetown convinced Chase that he was better off in New England. Finally, in June, 1830, Dr. Joel S. Bacon accepted the presidency of the college and entered immediately upon his duties.

But Georgetown's troubles were just beginning. During the first decade of its existence, the college was in a state of turmoil and its future looked hopeless. Part of the difficulty was financial, but the most explosive problems were associated with religious issues. Georgetown was born in the midst of the Campbellite movement and the split in the Kentucky Baptist church almost expunged the college before it was five years old. Dissension entered the board of trustees and religious controversy found its way to the classrooms. Controversies over the management of the college property were added to the other problems confronting the administration. In 1832 the situation was so unpleasant that Bacon gave up in disgust and handed in his resignation. From 1832 to 1838, Georgetown drifted on the troubled waters of religious controversy, guided only by that versatile professor of mathematics, Thornton F. Johnson.[74]

The turning point in Georgetown's history came in 1838 with the election of Reverend Rockwood Giddings of Shelbyville to the long-vacated presidential chair. Giddings was a young man in his twenties and he possessed both executive ability and religious zeal. He brought peace and tranquility to the rebellious board members and eliminated other difficulties that had embarassed the college. He launched an ambitious campaign to

[73] William Cathcart (ed.), *The Baptist Encyclopedia*, (Philadelphia, 1883) p. 440; Alvin T. Lewis. *History of Higher Education in Kentucky* (Washington, D.C., 1899), p. 143.

[74] Leland Winfield Meyer, *The Life and Times of Col. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky*, (New York, 1932), pp. 388-392; B. P. Gaines. *History of Scott County*, 2 vols n.p. (1905) II: 285-287; *Christian Review* (Boston, 1836-1863), II, (1837) p. 158.

increase the endowment fund and he secured pledges amounting to $100,000. About fifty per cent of this amount was actually collected and most of the money was used to construct Giddings Hall which has remained the central feature of the Georgetown campus.[75] Gidding's career was cut short by his untimely death in 1839 when the administration of the college was entrusted to Dr. Howard Malcom (1799-1879) a man "of cultivation" and experience in the field of education. He raised the entrance requirements at Gorgetown, improved the academic standing of the institution, and made provision for ministerial students. He was interested in curriculum enrichment and in making the students happy and this accounts for the introduction of a brass band "to afford healthful, pure and elevated recreation." The public and the board of trustees, however, were more interested in his politics and his anti-slavery sentiments than in his contributions and innovations at the college, and when, in 1850, he openly asserted that he favored emancipation the board decided that he should retire. His successor, Dr. J. L. Reynolds, was a South Carolinian and his views on slavery synchronized with the policy established by the college.[76]

Reynold's administration (1850-1852) was noteworthy for the important change in the charter of the college that did away with the original self-perpetuating body of trustees and substituted a board elected by the Kentucky Baptist Education Society, a body composed of all the friends of Georgetown who had contributed at least $100 to the endowment fund. The trustees ceased to be "a power unto themselves" and were now responsible to the Education Society. Giving those who contributed to the maintenance of the college a share in its administration was the most unique feature of this plan.

On the eve of the Civil War and during the conflict Georgetown College was intelligently directed by Dr. Duncan R. Campbell who was elected president in 1852. Campbell (1814-1865) was born in Scotland and educated for the Presbyterian ministry but after establishing a residence in Richmond, Virginia, he became interested in the Baptist Church and entered the Baptist ministry. Before he was called to Georgetown he held pastorates in Virginia, Mississippi, and Kentucky, engaged in missionary work, and taught Hebrew and Biblical literature at the Baptist Theological Seminary in Covington. As president of Georgetown, Campbell was diplomatic, energetic, and efficient. He took the endowment bugbear by the horns and collected $50,000 in cash and the usual assortment of promises and pledges. The latter melted away in the holocaust of Civil War but the cash was so wisely invested that it carried the college through the turbulent days of strife and reconstruction.[77]

At the close of the ante-bellum period, Georgetown was fairly well equipped. The library contained about 6,000 volumes covering a wide

[75] Leland Winfield Meyer. Georgetown College (Louisville, 1929), pp. 30-41.
[76] Leland Winfield Mayer. Ibid., pp. 61-74.
[77] Alvin T. Lewis. *History of Higher Education in Kentucky*, p. 147.

range of subjects and the chemical and philosophical apparatus in the laboratories was valued at several thousand dollars. The museum contained 6,000 geological specimens embracing shells, minerals, and fossils. There were nearly 1,000 items representing the civilizations of foreign lands. This collection included coins, costumes, art objects, farm and industrial equipment, maps, sharts, and globes.[78] By this time, too, the curriculum had been organized on a permanent basis. Three courses were offered: the regular four-year liberal arts course, a three-year course in English, and a scientific course. During Campbell's regime the scientific course was also considered the normal, or teacher-training course. Apparently the college made a special effort to induce young men to enter the teaching profession. Free tuition was offered to all students who agreed to teach as many years as they attended college and the administration promised to help the prospective teachers secure a position.[79]

All students at Georgetown College were expected to attend daily chapel and go to church on Sunday. Those who skipped classes without permission were obliged to present their excuses directly to the president. No student was allowed out of the dormitory or boarding house after seven in the evening to attend a college function. Students were forbidden to attend exhibitions of "an immoral tendency." Bar rooms and tippling houses were classified as dens of iniquity and students discovered in these public places were promptly sent home. Duels were not allowed and gambling and drinking in either class or dormitory was prohibited. Finally, the students were requested not to engage in "any frolics of a noisy nature." Discipline was "decisive and prompt" and any student who carried his rugged individualism beyond the pale of collegiate decorum was promptly but quietly removed from the institution.[80]

In addition to Centre and Georgetown colleges which have rendered continuous service to the present time, the roster of early Kentucky colleges included many small institutions some of which have passed out of existence.

Bacon College was one of the antecedents of the present University of Kentucky. It began its career in Georgetown, Kentucky in 1836, as an academy sponsored by the Christian Church. The next year the academy was reorganized and chartered as Bacon College. With the hope of securing more patronage it was moved to Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in the summer of 1839. A few years later there were one-hundred and eighty students in attendance and the administrators declared that the school was in a flourishing condition. The liberal arts course included philosophy, foreign language, physiology, chemistry, geology, optics, and astronomy. One of

[78] *Catalogue of Georgetown College*, 1859-1860, pp. 17-20; *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 1849-1850, II:166ff.

[79] *Catalogue of Georgetown College*, 1859-1860, pp. 17, 19; *The Commentator*, December 21, 1836.

[80] *Catalogue of Georgetown College*, 1859-1860, p. 20; *The Commentator*, September 26, 1835.

the special features of the Bacon College curriculum was a complete course in civil engineering.[81]

Quite suddenly in 1850 Bacon College closed its doors because of financial difficulties. In 1858 it was merged with a new institution called Kentucky University which in turn absorbed temporarily what was left of Transylvania University in 1865.

Bethel High School was first opened in 1854 by a Mr. Blewett with one assistant teacher constituting the first faculty. By the year 1855 it had three teachers beside the principal and an enrollment of 125 students. By a charter from the state legislature in 1856 the name of the school was changed to Bethel College. By this charter the control of this institution was placed in the hands of the Green River Baptist Educational Society, where it remained for many years. The new college was opened in 1856 and 150 students were enrolled the first year.

Under President Blewett's successful management the college continued eminently prosperous until 1861, when, because of the Civil War, it was closed and remained so for approximately two years during which time the buildings were used as a hospital for several months by Confederate troops. President Blewett resigned his office in 1861.

In 1863 the college reopened with Reverend George Hunt as president, but he resigned in 1864 and was succeeded by J. W. Rust. Upon President Rust's resignation, Noah K. Davis, the author of several works in mental and moral philosophy, was elected to the presidency, a position he held for five years when he resigned to accept the chair of moral philosophy at the University of Virginia and the executive affairs of the college were entrusted to Leslie Waggoner who also served as chairman of the faculty and was elected as president in which capacity he served until 1892, when James H. Fuqua became chairman of the faculty and professor of mathematics. Fuqua received his preliminary education in Tennessee and graduated from Bethel College at Russellville, Kentucky in 1858 with the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Laws. Immediately after his graduation he was made principal of the academic department in Bethel College and in 1861 he was elected to the chair of mathematics. In 1863, during the Civil War, the Russellville college was made into a hospital, and it was at that time Fuqua founded a high school to whose management he devoted his entire time and attention for a period of thirteen years. At the expiration of this time he was elected principal of Liberty College at Glasgow, Kentucky, where he remained for five years. In 1880 he returned to Bethel College, Russellville, where he occupied the chair of Latin and Greek for twelve years. He was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Kentucky where he served from 1903 to 1907.[82]

[81] *A Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Bacon College*, 1837-1838; See also the S. Hatch MSS in Transylvania University Library.

[82] Barksdale Hamlett. *History of Education in Kentucky. Bulletin* Kentucky Department of Education, 7:4, (July, 1914), p. 185.

At Bethel College, Fuqua was succeeded as chairman of the faculty by Reverend W. S. Ryland who became president in 1889. He held the position until 1903. In 1892, a school of the Bible for practical instruction in the Scriptures was added to the curriculum and a library building constructed. In 1896 the course of instruction was again enlarged and the faculty increased by the creation of a new school of history. During Ryland's administration the endowment of the institution was somewhat expanded and there was a raising of the general tone and spirit of the institution.[83]

Although Berea College was not chartered by the state until 1865, an attempt was made to establish the school as early as 1855 and in 1858 there seems to have been fifty non-descript students in attendance. The purpose of the college was to furnish a thorough education to all persons of good moral character at the least possible expense.

The most important member of the first board of trustees was John G. Fee who is often referred to as the "father" of Berea College. Fee was trained for foreign missionary service but when he finished college he was a rabid abolitionist and he decided to forsake foreign fields in order that he might throw his influence against slavery in Kentucky. His experiences were extremely unpleasant. Every church that he established he was forced to abandon because of his abolitionist philosophy. Finally he attracted the attention of Cassius M. Clay who was also opposed to slavery, and the two worked together to establish an abolitionist church and college at Berea. The opposition to the movement was intense and to make matters worse Fee and Clay quarreled over petty differences of opinion. Clay withdrew his support from the enterprise and Fee and his small band of followers were left alone to fight the angry public.[84]

After John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, the feeling against all abolitionists was intensified and the position of the Berea staff became untenable. The aroused public asserted that Fee and his associates were tied up with the Black Republicans of the North and that Berea College was the secret headquarters of a revolutionary organization. According to the Richmond *Kentucky Democrat*, a constant stream of northern immigrants poured into Berea every day and "besides this, numerous heavy boxes have been forwarded to Berea; and each party going there had been heavily loaded with baggage, even the ladies' trunks being so heavy as to require the united strength of several men to transfer them from place to place. In addition, the leading men of this faction openly boast that they intend to revolutioniz the sentiment of this portion of the state, and hereafter hold the controlling influence in political affairs."[85]

The Louisville Courier took up the hue and cry and asserted that

[83] Hamlett, *ibid.*, pp. 304, 305.

[84] Betty Jean Hall and Richard Allen Heckman. "Berea's First Decade," *The Filson Club Quarterly*, 42:4 (October, 1968) pp. 323-339; Also see *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, January 2, 1860.

[85] Quoted in *Kentucky Statesman*, November 29, 1860.

Kentucky had "hospitable graves" for Fee, Henry Ward Beecher, the John Browns and all "traitors with bloody hands."[86] Public opinion throughout the state now became so bitter and so determined that the outcome was inevitable. In December, 1859, the citizens of Madison County held a series of meetings in Richmond to decide the fate of the abolitionists in nearby Berea. There could be only one answer, only one solution to the problem. The Berea group, teachers and preachers, was "destructive of all organized society" and must leave the state.[87] Berea soon became a college in exile and remained inoperative until after the war. In recent years it has made a unique contribution in educating the young men and women of the Southern Highlands.

Central University resulted from a schism in the Presbyterian Church during the Civil War over the matter of allegiance to the Union dictated by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America.[88] Before the division of the Presbyterians in Kentucky, Centre College and the Presbyterian Seminary in Danville were the higher institutions of learning under the control of the Synod of the State. As one might expect, when the Presbyterians of the State were divided, each Synod claimed the right to elect the trustees of Centre College and proceeded to do so. The Northern General Assembly, of course, recognized the trustees of its Synod. The Southerners, having a considerable majority in the State, undertook to have the legislature modify the charter of the college so as to give their Synod the right to elect the trustees; but their measure failed in the Senate. Then they resorted to the courts, refusing at the same time to join the other Synod in some form of joint control of Centre College, or in the division of its assets. But in every effort the courts, circuit, appellate, and the United States district, gave the college to the original Synod as having steadfastly adhered to the original General Assembly whose synodical contract with Centre College in 1824 was declared valid (Kinkead vs. McKee, 2 Bush 535).

The case involving ownership of Centre College was not passed upon by the Kentucky Court of Appeals until 1872, but the Southern Presbyterians began, in the spring of that year, to plan to establish a higher institution of learning of their own. Furthermore, they were somewhat discouraged by the decisions of the United States Circuit Court for the District of Kentucky, in 1871, and the United States Supreme Court in April, 1872, in awarding the Walnut Street Church property in Louisville to the Northern Presbyterians, a decision of great importance to American jurisprudence (Watson vs. Jones, 13 Wallace 679).

On losing Centre College, the Southern Presbyterians of Kentucky made

[86] *The Louisville Courier,* November 17, 1859; see also: *Kentucky Statesman,* November 18, 1859; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial,* December 27, 1859.

[87] *Kentucky Statesman,* December 27, 1859; see also: Elizabeth S. Peck. *Berea's First Century 1855-1955.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, (1955), pp. 15-25.

[88] Johathan Truman Dorris. "Central University, Richmond, Kentucky," *The Register* of the Kentucky Historical Society, 32:99, (April, 1934), pp. 92-95.

preparations to establish colleges, or a university, of their own. The enthusiasm in Richmond, Kentucky, for the university and the large amount subscribed in the community for its establishment caused the main part of the institution to be located in that city. Anchorage, near Louisville, was at first selected as the site. By September 1874, a College of Letters and Science, a College of Law, and a Preparatory School were opened in Richmond, and a College of Medicine in Louisville.[89]

The faculty of the College and its Preparatory Department consisted of eleven men including the chancellor, who also taught. Two of the number were in charge of the preparatory work, but they were assisted by regular members of the college staff, since there were eighty-one students in the academy and only thirty-six in the college.

The equipment of the university was only fair. It could not have been entirely satisfactory with the limited funds available. Yet it compared favorably with that of many of its contemporaries. The main building, now called University Hall, was a four-story structure containing the chapel, library, laboratories, and classrooms. It was built in 1874 at a cost of about $30,000 and is now one of the most handsome buildings on Eastern Kentucky University's campus. The dormitory, preparatory school, and gymnasium were built in 1883, 1890, and 1899 respectively.

There were only about 1,000 books in the library in the beginning, and they had been donated. An effort was made at the beginning to develop a museum. Friends of the university contributed from time to time Indian relics and other items of historic interest. Courses in biology, geology, minerology, and physiology were conducive to collections in the field of natural history. In 1898 C. C. Cooper of Dayton, Kentucky, gave the school a valuable assortment of fossils.

The curriculum of the university was rather limited. Latin, Greek, mathematics, logic, physics, English, rhetoric, French, ethics, psychology, chemistry, German, Evidences of Christianity, mineralogy, and astronomy are listed in the first catalog. Not until 1886 were electives offered and then only on the last two years. The catalogs thereafter mention courses in history, political science, commercial science, and, beginning in 1892, military science. The degrees of Bachelor of Arts and of Science were confered at the outset and in 1891 an arrangement was made to confer the degree of Bachelor of Letters when English and history were substituted for Greek and part of the mathematics and science. On completion of an additional year's work and an acceptable thesis in any one of these three departments, the candidate received the Master's degree providing he had at least an average of eighty-five in his studies for the Bachelor's degree. The customary honorary degrees were also conferred.

[89] The charter of the university (March 3, 1873) provided for six high schools. Only four were established, namely at Richmond, Jackson, Elizabethtown, and Middlesboro. The Theological Seminary contemplated was finally established at Louisville in conjunction with the Northern Presbyterians. A college of Dentistry was also established in Louisville.

Inasmuch as a teachers college superseded the university in Richmond, some mention should be made of the efforts of Central University to prepare teachers for the public schools. The first course for teacher training was offered in 1890. It was announced as "beginning each year [on] March 1st, and continuing ten weeks." Three years later a special four-weeks summer course was announced. In 1896 the university again expressed its desire to draw closer to the great body of public school teachers in order, as it announced, "to make common cause with . . . [them] in developing and perfecting our Public School System." "To give evidence of its desire to extend its usefulness among" teachers it offered courses running "from March 1st to May 1st," and intended "primarily for teachers of the country schools. . . ."[90] Other arrangements were announced as being made to prepare teachers for high school positions. Thus it is seen that the first work in training public school teachers in Richmond was done by Central University.

It is important to note that Central University became coeducational in the nineties. At first the movement was experimental and only young women from Madison County were admitted. There were about twelve who matriculated in 1895 two of whom graduated at the commencement of 1896. The plan was regarded so favorably that the institution was made entirely coeducational in March, 1898.

Only a brief statement need to be made about the medical schools in Louisville. The College of Medicine was established in 1874 and the College of Dentistry in 1886. It appears that these colleges always maintained a high standard of instruction, which might be expected since their staffs were comprised of as good physicians, surgeons, and dentists as Louisville afforded. It appears that there was adequate building, hospital, and laboratory equipment for first-class medical and dental instruction. Students attended these schools from all over the United States and even abroad. Their combined attendance exceeded that of all the Richmond schools. The number of graduates was also larger. In 1891 the medical school, for example, graduated fifty-one and the dental school twenty-six. At the same time there were only six bachelors and three masters graduated from the College of Philosophy, Letters, and Science in Richmond.

It appears also that there was not the difficulty in financing the Louisville schools that was experienced in maintaining those in Richmond. This was due to the fact that the receipts from tuition were greater in Louisville and also to the additional fact that the instructors in Louisville were practicing their respective professions, as is often true with teachers in medical schools.

It might be noted that the schools in Louisville published separate catalogs, as did other units of the university, including the high schools. The student publication also gave some mention of the colleges in Louis-

[90] The catalog for 1895-96 announced that a gold medal would be given the student who attained "the highest average in the Teachers Normal Course."

ville; this was especially true of the *Cream and Crimson,* the college yearbook which was published during the last years of the university.

Over all these units of Central University, colleges of Art, Law, Medicine, and Dentistry, and the four preparatory schools, there were two coordinating administrative bodies, viz., the boards of curators and trustees (after 1884 curators only), whose chancellor was the chief executive of the whole system. Each college had its own president and each preparatory school its own principal, whose duties, of course, were those common to the office of president or principal in such an educational system. There were also in the background the Alumni Association of Central University and, after 1884, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church South, which were the primary sources of administration in the university. The duties of the chancellor took him occasionally to each of these units, whose conditions he reported to his superiors.

The striking features of the preparatory schools at Richmond, Jackson, Elizabethtown, and Middlesboro were the fact that they all offered a Teachers "Normal Course" and training in military science, as the work was called. It appears that the Federal Government furnished the guns, belts, etc., and the local citizens sometimes furnished the uniforms.

Chancellor Daniel Breck, in poor health and believing that some one else could direct the administration better, resigned in 1880. By this time the institution was in a very precarious financial condition. The attendance had declined since the opening in 1874 when Breck was chosen as chancellor. By 1879-80 there were only sixty in Richmond and about that number in Louisville, and less than half of those in Richmond were university students. Furthermore, there was on hand "not a dollar of invested funds," and only a small amount of unpaid notes and subscriptions. In Richmond were one large college building and four residences for teachers, all which the university had acquired at the beginning. Under these circumstances, it is little wonder that Chancellor Breck wanted out.

Jane Briggs Todd, eighth child of General Levi Todd, married Judge Daniel Breck, a native of Massachusetts, the son of a Presbyterian clergyman who was chaplain in the army of the Revolution and was with Montgomery in the assault upon Quebec. Daniel Breck graduated at Dartmouth in 1812; settled in Richmond, Kentucky in 1814. He was married to Jane Briggs Todd in 1819. He was active in the movement that led to the establishment of the Independent Synod of Kentucky which eventually merged in the southern branch of the Presbyterian Church; to his zeal, efficiency, energy, and weight, more than any man, Central University is indebted for its establishment.[91]

The chancellorship was offered to Reverend Rutherford Douglas, who declined the position. It was next offered to Reverend L. H. Blanton,

[91] Thomas Marshall Green. *Historic Families of Kentucky,* Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., (1966) p. 214.

pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Paris, Kentucky, and former chaplain in the Confederate Army under General John C. Breckinridge. He, too, declined, but after some persuasion finally accepted. Chancellor Blanton began to devise means to create a substantial endowment. With the support of the Synod, he had subscriptions totaling $50,000 by 1882, when he suspended further efforts, as he said, on account of "the severe drought and consequent failure of crops" of that year. It was not long, however, until he began solicitations again with only fair results.

While this campaign to increase the endowment was going on, a closer contact between the Synod and the university was consummated. It is also significant to note that between 1880 and 1884 a gesture was made to bring about a union between Central University and Centre College. Conferences back in the 1890's had been looking toward the union of the two institutions. At one conference representatives of Centre College refused to accept a proposition to raise $70,000 in Madison County to meet the expense and the loss to Danville of moving Centre to Richmond. Centre College adherents, naturally, never entertained a union of that sort. They were determined that, if consolidation was to be effected, Danville would be the recipient. During the school year of 1900-1901 the movement toward union developed rapidly. Each side sought legal counsel which gave assurance that union could be legally perfected and that consolidation would be more satisfactory than any plan of cooperation which had been considered. Finally the boards and some friends of the two institutions held a joint meeting and apparently unanimously agreed upon the terms of union in 1901.

The main provisions of the agreement were that the moveable assets of Central University should become the property of Centre College which would assume the name of *The Central University of Kentucky*. The name Centre College was restored by the legislature in 1918. In brief, the Central University at Danville assumed all the responsibilities which had formerly rested on both institutions. The act of consolidation further provided that the board of trustees of the new University should consist of an even number of persons, one half of whom should be elected by the Northern Synod and the other by the Southern Synod.[92]

Some idea of the real property left behind by Central University is revealed in the pamphlet circulated among members of the Kentucky General Assembly when Richmond made a bid for the location of one of the normal schools in the eastern area of Kentucky:

WHAT RICHMOND OFFERS

A ready-made Normal School Plant.
A main College Building seating 800; worth $60,000.
A dormitory, 35 rooms; worth $30,000.
A Gymnasium worth $5,000 fully equipped.

[92] Jonathan Truman Dorris. *op. cit.*, pp. 99-103; *passim*.

An Athletic Field, A Grand Stand.[93]
A City with a College and School Spirit.
A Railroad Center—The most accessible point to the majority of Kentucky Teachers.
All this we offer Free, constituting the most liberal and economical proposition ever made to the taxpayers of Kentucky.

The pamphlet gave information concerning Madison County, the city of Richmond, the grounds and buildings of Central University, special description being made of the main college building, the dormitory, the gymnasium, the athletic field and the campus.[94]

Although Eastern State College was established in 1906, it bacame Eastern Kentucky University in 1966, thus completing a history of approximately one hundred years in the making. Eastern Kentucky University's centennial date will be accordingly March, 1973.

The establishment of Kentucky Wesleyan College in 1860 was the result of an educational movement which had its origin among Kentucky Methodists in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Three times before the Civil War the Methodists attempted to establish in Kentucky an educational institution, but for sundry reasons each attempt resulted in failure. The first of these attempts was made in 1790 when, in accordance with the personal plans of Bishop Asbury, Bethel Academy was founded. This school was located near the present High Bridge some nine miles from Nicholasville, Kentucky, and remained under the control of the Western Methodist Conference until 1803. Internal dissensions, lack of patronage, and financial embarrassments were the causes of its abandonment. The next attempt by the Kentucky Methodists to establish a church school was made in 1822. A college was founded at Augusta, Kentucky, and named from its location, Augusta College. It was under the control of the Ohio and Kentucky Conferences. The former Conference ultimately withdrew its support because of strong scruples against maintaining an institution of learning in slave territory. In 1840 many of the faculty and most of the patronage of Augusta College were transferred to the newly acquired Transylvania University, and the former institution steadily declined until in 1849 it voluntarily surrendered its charter. The third venture of Kentucky Methodism into Pierian ways was made in 1840 when the Conference assumed control of Transylvania University. There were excellent reasons for believing that both the university and the cause of Methodist education would profit by the new arrangement. The growing troubles, however, of the Civil War rendered vain the hope of both, and in 1850 the Methodist Conference gave up its control of Transylvania and

[93] Cream and Crimson of Central University gave the Orange and White of Centre College its first defeat in three years. The Richmond *Kentucky Register* published a supplement devoted entirely to this game. The last time these two schools met in athletic contests were during the baseball season of 1901 when Central University defeated Centre College in both games.

[94] By members of the Faculty (Jonathan T. Dorris, editor) *Five Decades of Progress Eastern Kentucky State College 1906-1957*, 47:5 (September, 1957), p. 9.

remained for several years without an institution of higher learning in Kentucky.

In 1856 the Conference decided to establish a denominational college to be located in the town offering the greatest inducements. As it happened, the people of Millersburg, Kentucky, were planning for a co-educational college, and when the Conference met at that place in 1858 the proposition was made to Millersburg that if the new institution would be turned over to the Methodists they would make it a college for men and would raise an endowment of $100,000. The offer was promptly accepted and the cornerstone of the new building laid before the Conference adjourned. Thus was established Kentucky Wesleyan College called, however, in true Western spirit, Kentucky Wesleyan University. On January 12, 1860, a charter was secured for the board of education in whose hands the government of the infant institution was to rest. This board was composed of twelve members, half of whom were ministers and half lay members. One-third of the members of the board were chosen each year by the Kentucky Conference which also elected the college faculty and managed the funds.

On account of the Civil War, the college did not open its doors for students until the fall of 1866. The first year of its history ninety students were enrolled; by 1870 the number had grown to 144. Reverend Charles Taylor, a graduate of the University of New York, was the first president and remained in charge of the college until 1870. The faculty during this period was composed of five members. The B.A. and B.S. degrees were conferred. From 1870 until 1873 Reverend B. Arbogast was president and from 1872-1875 John Darby. From 1876-1879 Reverend W. H. Anderson served as president. He was succeeded by D. W. Batson who remained president until 1894.

In order to secure the college for their city, the people of Winchester and of Clark County contributed $42,000 for land and buildings. The citizens of Millersburg, on the other hand, were much opposed to the removal of the institution and took the matter to court. In 1894, Justice Harlan of the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision sustaining the action of the Conference in selecting the Winchester site.

In erecting the main building of the college at Winchester, several bricks from the old Bethel Academy were placed in the walls, thus symbolizing in a most striking manner the continuity of Methodist effort toward education in Kentucky. For the first year at Winchester the college occupied temporary quarters while the new buildings were being erected. There were during this first year four members in the faculty and a student body of 120. There had been 135 the last year at Millersburg. The new building, though unfinished was occupied in 1891 and continued to be used until 1905. During these years the history of Kentucky Wesleyan College was one of steady progress. A complete gymnasium was fitted up. Preparator schools were established at Campton, Burnside, and London. In 1901, a boys' dormitory, a gift of T. L. Clark, was opened.

In February, 1903, the main building of the college was destroyed by fire. Temporary quarters were secured and meanwhile, with funds donated by the people of Winchester and Clark County, a new building was erected. Kentucky Wesleyan College rose from its ruins seemingly with new strength. Under the presidency of Dr. Weber, the college was rebuilt. President Taylor introduced military discipline among the preparatory students, erected an industrial plant, an academy building, and increased the number of students to over two hundred. In 1914, the president, Reverend J. L. Clark, succeeded in securing a library building and brought Kentucky Wesleyan College into closer relationship to the Conference than ever before. It should be mentioned that Kentucky Wesleyan College became coeducational at the time of its removal to Winchester which eventually necessitated the building of a girls' dormitory.[95]

St. Joseph's College of Bardstown, Kentucky, was founded by the Right Reverend Benedict Joseph Flaget in the year 1819. Bishop Flaget had been for years an eminent educator in his native country, France. Shortly after his arrival in America to assist in the work of Catholic missions, he was appointed to the newly founded bishopric of Kentucky, the Middle West, and the South. One of his first works was to establish an institution of higher learning for young men. Within three years after its incipiency, conditions were such that St. Joseph's College opened its doors for resident students.

The college was first placed under the management of the local clergy, with the Reverend George Elder as president. In 1848, the college passed into the hands of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Under their direction it continued until the Civil War forced its discontinuance for the time.

In 1868 the Jesuits relinquished its management and the local clergy again assumed charge. While the college was in the zenith of its glory, circumstances obliged the faculty to discontinue its operation indefinitely and for a period of about twenty years it remained closed. In the spring of 1911, the property was acquired by the Xaverian Brothers, a religious body of men who devoted their lives to educational work. For sixty years they had labored in Louisville, while their educational systems are well known in many other states of the Union as well as in Europe.

The buildings of St. Joseph's College necessitated thorough renovation to meet the requirement of the times, and by the fall of 1911 they were in readiness for the reception of students. Flaget Hall was arranged for study halls, laboratories, lecture rooms, etc. The gymnasium was a new adjunct to the complex of buildings.

The campus was extensive and offered every inducement for the growing youth to indulge in athletic sports after hours in the classroom or study hall.

Among the alumni of St. Joseph's College were Lazarus W. Powell, Governor of Kentucky; James Speed, Attorney-General under President Lincoln; Governors Roman and Wickliffe of Louisiana, A. H. Garland, At-

[95] Barksdale Hamlett. *op. cit.*, pp. 297-8.

torney-General in President Cleveland's cabinet; Right Reverend John McGill, Bishop of Richmond; Right Reverend Denis O'Donaghue, Bishop of Louisville.[96]

Union College was established in 1880 by the citizens of Barbourville, Kentucky, who felt the necessity of a school of higher learning under distinctively Christian influence. A stock company was formed, a site purchased, a two-and-a-half-story brick building erected. The first classes, however, were held in a vacant room over a store. The first principal was A. H. Harriett of Indianapolis. The school was organized under the auspices of various denominations of the town, hence its name, Union; and so it continued until 1886 when its physical plant was put up for sale.

On October 25, 1886, Daniel Stevenson was almost 63 years of age, a time of life when many men face the necessity or feel the desire of handing on the labor of life to others. On that day he took a bold step which was to project his life to its fulfillment.

He had been directed by the Kentucky Conference of the Methodist Church to attend the mortgage sale of the properties of what was known as Union College Corporation of Barbourville, Kentucky, but he had been cautioned that he was "without authority to assume any financial obligation on behalf of the Conference." Nevertheless, realizing the need for action, and with the cooperation of Mrs. Fanny Henning Speed and certain staunch Barbourville citizens, he bought the properties, "cried off," he said, "at $4,425." He at once drew up a paper, wherein it was agreed that the school should reopen under his direction and under the patronage of the Methodist Church. His action was confirmed; he was directed to purchase the equity of redemption, the remaining amount due on the debt; he gave his personal note for it, and then set about, as he wrote in his journal "to raise the money necessary to turn the property, completed, repaired and improved, together with the necessary furniture over to the Board of Education of the Conference."[97]

Reverend Daniel Stevenson, D.D., was born in Versailles, Kentucky, November 12, 1823. He was educated in Transylvania University, Lexington, under Dr. H. B. Bascom, president. He graduated with the class of 1847, taking the highest honors in classics and delivering the Greek Oration. After leaving college, he taught school in Mississippi and Indiana. January 5, 1849, he married Miss Sarah Corwine, daughter of Reverend Richard Corwine of the Kentucky Methodist Conference and classmate of Miss Fanny Henning (Mrs. Joshua Fry Speed) at Science Hill Academy for Girls, Shelbyville, Kentucky, established and conducted for many years by Dr. and Mrs. John Tevis. Realizing a call to the office of the ministry, he joined the Kentucky Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in 1851 and began a long term of service in States and

[96] Barksdale Hamlett. *ibid.*, pp. 303-4.

[97] Richard Corwine Stevenson. "Daniel Stevenson and Union College," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, Louisville, Kentucky, 42:4 (October, 1968), pp. 340-345.

Church. Until the Civil War broke out, he served the charges of Taylorsville, Danville, Newport, Carrollton, Millersburg and Shelbyville. At Millersburg he was connected with the effort of a body of leading ministers and laymen in founding the Kentucky Wesleyan College of that town later removed to Winchester. He was always a student and a teacher. His next charge was that of Frankfort. In 1863 he accepted the nomination of the Union Party for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction and was elected. On the 7th of September, 1863, he took the oath of office in which he served until 1867.

Dr. Stevenson kept a full journal during his life. From it we quote: "In accordance with a statute which has been passed about two years before I came to office, I proceeded at once to revise the Common School laws of the State. Up to this time no Superintendent had been required to hold his office at Frankfort, or to devote his whole time to the duties of his position, and the consequence was that much that might have been done had been left undone, and the system suffered thereby. In their revision, the School Laws were made to require the Superintendent to hold his office at Frankfort, and in their passage through the Legislature they were so amended as to require him to devote his whole time to the duties of the office. At the same time the salary was raised. . . ."

After four years of hard labor, and in troublesome times, Dr. Stevenson returned to the ministry and for a term of years occupied churches in Kentucky and New England. On his return from the East, he leased the old college building of what had been the first Methodist college in the United States, located at Augusta, Kentucky, and for eight years laid his wise hand upon the young lives that came under his direction. He then gave an equal number of years to the up-building of Union College which was under his administration until his death in January, 1897.

Upon the death of Dr. Stevenson, the Reverend James P. Faulkner, a native of the county and a graduate of this school succeeded to the presidency. Up to and including President Faulkner's administration the school had only a small endowment fund and was maintained principally by popular subscription, Mrs. Joshua Fry Speed being a constant and liberal contributor. Toward the close of President Faulkner's administration Mrs. Speed died, and the Board of Education of the Kentucky Conference came into possession of the legacy bequeathed by her which considerably augmented the endowment fund of the school. During this administration there were planned and begun a girl's dormitory, Fanny Speed Hall, and a central power and heating plant. These were first available for use at the beginning of the next administration of Reverend James W. Easley of Wilmington, Delaware, who took office in 1905. During the summer of 1906 the Administration Building was struck by lightning and burned to the ground. One year later it was replaced by a much more commodious building and a boys' dormitory was built.[98]

[98] Barksdale Hamlett. *ibid.*, pp. 97-98, 310.

CHAPTER IV

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

Every western adventurer knew the Miami country, and none looked upon it with more interest than the New Jersey adventurer, John Cleves Symmes. Symmes was a native of Long Island. As a surveyor, school teacher, soldier, and lawyer, he had progressed to a position of prominence in the political life of New Jersey, serving that state as a member of the Continental Congress in 1785-86, as judge of the New Jersey Supreme Court, and finally as its chief justice. His wife was the daughter of Governor William Livingston. In the year 1787, Symmes made application for the purchase of a million acres of land immediately north of the Ohio River, between the Great and Little Miamis. In 1794, he received a patent for some three-hundred-thousand acres, a tract henceforth known as the Symmes Purchase. While awaiting his patent, Symmes parceled out these lands to others. In November, 1788, Major Benjamin Stites led a party of twenty-six persons from the Redstone district of southwestern Pennsylvania to the mouth of the Little Miami where they founded the settlement of Columbia. In December of the same year, Matthias Denman of New Jersey, Colonel Robert Patterson, a Pennsylvanian and one of the founders of Lexington, Kentucky, and John Filson, another Kentucky pioneer, established a settlement on the north bank of the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Licking River which entered the Ohio from the Kentucky side. The original name given to this second settlement, Losantiville, is evidence of the incongruous classical influences which educated men were bearing with them into the wilderness.[99] The third settlement within the Symmes Purchase was made by the judge himself, in February, 1789, at North Bend. The proprietor had great hopes for the future of his adventure and planned a city on a magnificent scale to be called Symmes City. But the construction of Fort Washington at Cincinnati instead of upon the location which Symmes favored gave to that an advantage against which North Bend could not compete.[100]

Previous to 1795, migration into the valleys of the Miamis was held

[99] The name is a curious mixture of Latin and French: a town (ville) opposite (ante) the mouth (os) of Licking (L). Through the influence of General Arthur St. Clair and other veteran officers of the Revolution, members of the newly formed Society of the Cincinnati, the name of the town was soon changed to the one it now bears. Henry B. Teeter and Israel Ludlow, "The naming of Cincinnati," *Magazine of Western History* (Cleveland), II (1885), pp. 251, 394.

[100] Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1851), p. 209. North Bend became the home of one of Ohio's favorite sons, William Henry Harrison, who married a daughter of John Cleves Symmes.

in check by the Indian menace. Following the Treaty of Greenville, however, a movement of settlers, speculators, and land jobbers began which soon reached astonishing proportions. It has been estimated that the population of Ohio increased between 1795 and 1800 from 15,000 to 45,000.[101] Speculation in Miami land became a flourishing business, with almost every issue of Cincinnati, Frankfort, Lexington, and other western newspapers carrying advertisements of proposed sales. The growth of populations of towns lagged behind that of the country at large, but as soon as the agricultural population became established upon the farm lands, commercial and industrial communities thrived also. Thus while the population of the Miami country as a whole increased between 1795 and 1805 about 480 per cent, the population of Cincinnati increased from 500 to 960, or about ninety per cent.

"The principal inducements for immigration to this state," wrote Dr. Daniel Drake, "are the fertility of its soil, the low prices of land, and security of titles; the high price of labor, and the exclusion of slavery."[102] Drake estimated the population of Ohio, in 1810 to be 230,760 and predicted by 1820 it would approach 492,000. Not only did Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Virginia contribute liberally to the settling of the Miami Valley but western European countries sent important additions. Little communities of Germans, English, Hollanders, Swiss, Swedes, Huguenots were attracted thither, bringing with them the elements of the old world culture which persisted for generations.

The college established in the Miami Purchase during the first twenty years of its existence amounted to little more than a grammar school. Scant returns from school lands hampered the school, though it was endowed by state lands. These lands were involved in non-productive leases and the whims of politicians.[103] The school was incorporated by the state legislature in 1809 and Lebanon was selected as a site. A succeeding legislature moved the location to the endowed lands which happened to lie west of the Great Miami and beyond the bounds of the Symmes Purchase. Here a town was laid out, named Oxford, in the midst of an unsettled tract of country, with the result that "in less than two years nearly one-third of this valuable endowment was disposed of, on terms which will not yield a revenue adequate to the support of a grammar school!"[104] Controversies over policy and contention over choice of location gained for the institution more notoriety than fame. Cincinnati made at least two campaigns to obtain the school, one in 1814 and one in 1822,[105] and much bitterness was aroused. Dr. Drake expressed the opinion current in Cincinnati:

[101] Frank P. Goodwin, "The Development of the Miami Country," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, XVIII (1909), 448ff.

[102] Daniel Drake, *Natural and Statistical View or, Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country*, Cincinnati: Looker and Wallace (1815), p. 26.

[103] A. H. Upham, "The Centennial of Miami University," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, XVIII (1909), pp. 325-28.

[104] Daniel Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati*, p. 158.

[105] A. H. Upham. *Miami University*, p. 328.

> That it will attain to the rank of a second rated college, in the course of the present century, where it is now fixed, no well informed person has the courage to predict. The general opinion is, that both the interests of the seminary, and common justice to the people for whose benefit it was expressly designed, require its restoration to Symmes Purchase; where the funds necessary to the erection of suitable edifices could be promptly raised by subscription; and a college organized in time to benefit the rising generation. Whether this will be done, depends upon the wisdom of future legislatures.[106]

This was not done, however. No adequate college buildings were provided until 1824. In 1825, Robert Hamilton Bishop, a Presbyterian minister who had served on the faculty of Transylvania University, became its first president, and the school entered upon a more hopeful history.

The removal of the college grant lands out of the Symmes Purchase and west of the Great Miami, and the refusal of the state legislature to establish the school anywhere but on the grant lands, deprived Cincinnati of the institution to which she deemed herself rightly entitled. Drake tells of the school association which was formed in 1806 with the intention of organizing a Cincinnati University:

> Its endowments were not exactly correspondent to its elevated title, consisting only of modest contributions; and an application was made to the legislature to raise money by a lottery, which was granted. A scheme was formed, and a great part of the tickets sold; they have, however, not been drawn, and but little of the money which they brought refunded. On Sunday, the 28th of May, 1809, the schoolhouse erected by the corporation was blown down; since which it has become extinct.[107]

The idea was revived in 1819, and Cincinnati College was founded. This institution, too, was short-lived; it was revived in 1833, and ultimately, along with the Medical College of Ohio, was absorbed into the modern University of Cincinnati.

The most pretentious and successful efforts in the field of higher education for which Cincinnati was responsible were the medical schools. And here Drake was the guiding genius. Drake returned from Lexington in 1818, after a year's experience on the faculty of Transylvania University, and with Jesse Smith and Elijah Slack began the Medical College in 1819. It was soon a formidable rival of the Lexington school. It encountered the usual vicissitudes of western schools, expelled Drake from the faculty and had him for a time as a rival, but survived through state aid, and, in 1896, became the Medical Department of the University of Cincinnati.[108]

Shortly after Bishop was chosen president of Miami University, the Board of Trustees began to advertise the opening of the school to be on

[106] Daniel Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati*, p. 159.

[107] Daniel Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati*, p. 159.

[108] Juettner, "Medical Colleges in the Ohio Valley," pp. 488, 489. Daniel Drake, *A Narrative of the Rise and Fall of the Medical College of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1822). This is Drake's own humorous account of his difficulties at the Cincinnati school.

November 1, 1824.[109] When it opened, the faculty, besides its president, was composed of John E. Annan, a graduate of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania, and William Sparrow, who received the greater part of his education at Trinity College, Dublin.

In the newspaper announcements of the opening, the university was described and plans for the future were extended. The college edifice was then a large brick building three stories in height, sixty feet in front by eighty-five feet deep. This "Centre Building" was subdivided into convenient study and lodging rooms for the students and into larger rooms which served as the Chapel, recitation rooms, a scientific laboratory, and a library. It was the plan of the trustees to add two additional wings of eighty feet each to the Centre Building.

At the opening of Miami University the faculty of three assumed responsibility over twenty students. Among these were three from South Carolina who had followed Bishop from Transylvania, James P. and Ebenezer Pressly and Daniel L. Gray. Of these twenty students four were in the junior class, three were sophomores, and five were freshmen, while eight were in the Grammar School. Ages of the students in the three classes of the college proper ranged from twelve to twenty-one years.[110]

The university began to expand immediately. The total cost for a year's schooling for the great body of the students, including tuition, board, laundry, mending, books, and fuel, was only about $100. The students boarded in private home in the village at $1.25 per week, or about $50.00 for the year. Tuition cost them $20.00, the laundry bill amounted to $5.00; firewood and candles were estimated at $4.50, and room rent and shoe blacking totaled $2.50. Parents were asked to send their sons to Miami clothed in homespuns and to limit the sums allotted to them for pocket money.

By May 30, 1825, there were eleven juniors ranging from sixteen to twenty-four years of age, six sophomores from thirteen to eighteen years of age, and ten freshmen from twelve to twenty-three years of age making a total of twenty-seven students in the college proper. By September 1, ten more had been registered.[111] In July, 1826, when the first catalogue was published by the university, there was a total of 111 students, of whom forty-eight were in the college proper, twenty-five in the English Scientific Department, and thirty-eight in the Grammar School. The ages of these students ranged from seven to thirty-one, but the most of them were between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one. They came from fourteen states, most, however, from Ohio.

By 1826 there had also been additions to the faculty. William Holmes McGuffey became professor of languages in 1826, in the place of Sparrow, and John P. Williston, employed as professor of languages in 1825, became

[109] *Intelligencer and Advertiser,* Hamilton, Ohio, September 20, 1824.

[110] "Recollections and Reflections," Robert H. Bishop MSS. (in the Bishop homestead).

[111] *Western Star,* Lebanon, Ohio, February 14, 1829.

principal of the Grammar School. Three tutors were added in 1825 and four in 1826.[112] In 1826 the first class numbering twelve was graduated from Miami University. Figures for the years of Bishop's presidency show a steady increase in the number of students, except for a decrease in the years of the panic of 1837. The total number of students for sixteen years was 2720, while the number of different persons in attendance during that time was 1200. The total number of alumni was 279.[113] Although Miami University was the thirtieth university in the United States, and the seventh state university, in point of date of founding, by 1839 it compared favorably in enrollment (250) with great institutions of the country.[114]

In 1840 Bishop reported to the Board that during the sixteen years of his administration only Jefferson College, in Pennsylvania, of all western colleges, surpassed Miami in the number of students in attendance or in the number of graduates.[115] In that year the faculty, in addition to Bishop, was composed of John W. Scott, professor of natural philosophy, astronomy, and chemistry; Samuel W. McCracken, professor of mathematics and civil engineering; John McArthur, professor of Latin language, Roman literature, and Hebrew; William W. Robertson, master of the Grammar School; and Robert H. Bishop, Jr., assistant teacher in the Grammar School. There were also usually a number of tutors and instructors not listed among the faculty of professors. In 1831 there was a total of eighteen teachers in the university.[116]

The first catalogue (1826) of the university announced that a small philosophical and chemical apparatus had been imported from London. In addition, a fund had been appropriated for the use of the faculty in purchasing literary journals and new scientific books. At the meeting of the Board on March 31, certain rules were passed. The immediate government of the university was placed in the hands of the faculty who were to enforce the regulations enacted by the Board of Trustees. The school year was to be composed of two sessions, one from the first Monday in November to March 30 and the other from the first Monday in May to the last Wednesday in September. The government of the institution was to be "wholly of a paternal nature," it was declared, and the following rules were laid down by the Board:

> If any student shall neglect his studies, or shall interrupt the studies of another, or disturb any officer in his lawful employment, or be guilty of profane cursing or swearing, of intoxication, of Riot, of striking a fellow Student, of keeping the company of persons of Known immorality, of playing

[112] *Advertiser*, Hamilton, Ohio, August 9, 1825.

[113] Charles Anderson, "An Address Delivered before the Society of Alumni of Miami University," (Oxford, Ohio, 1840), p. 17.

[114] Donald G. Tewkesbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* (New York; 1932), pp. 70, 167.

[115] Journal of the Board of Trustees, August 11, 1840, Miami University MSS. (University Administrative Offices), p. 473.

[116] Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Miami, Oxford, Ohio, March, 1840, p. 13 and July, 1831.

at cards, dice, or other games of chance, or of any other thing, grossly immoral, of which the faculty shall be Sole Judges, he shall at their discretion receive any punishment short of Dismission or explusion.

Every Student, except at recitation or Lecture shall remain in his room during study hours, which shall be regulated by the Faculty; and no Stranger without the knowledge of one of the Faculty shall be permitted to visit the rooms during those hours.

There shall be prayers every morning and evening by the President or his substitute, at such hour as the Faculty may appoint. [Six a.m. and six p.m. became the hours.]

All Students shall be required to attend divine Service twice every Sabbath in the College Chapel or at such other place as their parents or guardians may direct.

The Board also decided upon the issuance of degrees at this meeting. Four degrees were named, Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Doctor of Divinity, and Doctor of Laws.[117]

After two years, the committee of the trustees which attended the semi-annual examination announced that the students had acquitted themselves in a manner honorable to themselves and those who have charge of their education. In announcing the Commencement of the fall of 1828, a western paper wrote: "The Miami University under the charge of its present able and accomplished Professors and Teachers, is in a flourishing condition to become the first Literary Institution in the State of Ohio."[118]

When the university opened, its only course was the traditional Liberal Arts course with the prescribed classical training. But very early there was a popular demand for instruction in English, civil engineering, and other practical vocations.[119] Bishop, therefore, embarked immediately upon a plan of development of various departments and courses in the institution. In the announcement of the opening of the second year of the school's existence, another course besides the regular one was offered, as described in the announcement:

> With the second year a course of instruction will commence in its features somewhat distinct from what has hitherto formed any part of the regular instruction in colleges, but which it is believed will be adapted to the situation and the prospects of a very large portion of the young men of the State of Ohio and Indiana. It will comprehend English, Latin, Geography, Grammar, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Surveying, Rhetoric, Composition, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, and the elements of Ancient and Modern History. No person will be admitted to this course who is under sixteen years of age—nor will it be for the advantage of any one to commence unless he had made arrangements to continue at least one year. The whole of the course will probably be completed in two years.[120]

The new department became known as the English Scientific Depart-

[117] Journal of the Board, March 31, 1825, Miami University MSS., pp. 152-58; 159.

[118] *Intelligencer*, Hamilton, Ohio, October 14, 1828.

[119] S. Chester Parker, *History of the College Curriculum of Miami University*, Miami University Bulletin IX, No. 3 (1910), p. 6.

[120] Oxford, No. V in *Western Star* (Lebanon, Ohio), February 7, 1829.

ment. The first catalogue listed twenty-five students as attending this course of study. It was intended to have some of the modern languages taught in the department also, and to give diplomas to those who would finish the work in two years according to the *Catalogue* of 1826.

In January and February, 1829, the university ran a series of nine advertisements in the papers of that part of the West. In these the definite development of Miami into a university was announced. The fifth article contained an announcement of a department "to be known by the name of the "Farmer's College," the course of which was to be for three years. The reasons for the establishment of this course are to be found in the words of the president:

> Literary and Scientific knowledge is no longer to be the exclusive property of a few professional men. It is to become the common property of the mass of the human family. The day is not far distant when the common schools in many countries will embrace a course of study and improvement superior to what has been the course prescribed in many colleges and when the business of life and all social intercourse will give evidence of a high state of intellectual improvement. It is of vast importance, then, that the rising generation, at least, should be prepared for such a state of things and that a reasonable proportion of the farming interest should be qualified to move on at the head of all improvements in their immediate neighborhood.[121]

The course, however, included only subjects already taught in the university and there were no courses in agriculture or other subjects of a practical nature to the farmer.

The eighth article announced the opening of a Theological Department, for training ministers for the western country.[122] This also was a three-year course and the subjects in it looked very much the same in content as those taught in the other departments of the university. In this advertisement it was declared, "We are the servants of the community, and it is our wish to make Miami University a common good to all classes of men." So by April, 1829, the university was able to proclaim to the western country that it would be conducted under five divisions: The College proper, the Farmer's College, the Preparatory Department, the Theological Department, and the French Department.

The French Department was the result of Bishop's suggestion to the Board of Trustees on September 27, 1826, that they authorize him to hire a professor of French and Spanish at not more than 150 dollars salary per year. There seems to have been no teacher of modern languages, however, until November, 1827, when Robert W. Schenck was employed and taught French until 1830, and Isaac N. Shepherd, a senior, taught Spanish. The teaching of the modern languages continued until 1835, when Bishop informed the trustees that the experiment had failed because the classes could not be held because interest and students had dropped

[121] Oxford, No. V in *Western Star* (Lebanon, Ohio), February 7, 1829.

[122] "Miami University Circular," in *Western Luminary* (Lexington, Kentucky), February 25, 1829.

off. The president, a classical scholar himself, maintained "that an interest in the study of a modern language cannot be kept up with any class more than three or four months at one time."[123]

During the latter years of the 1830's, when Bishop and John W. Scott, a member of the faculty, were more active in the church developments and the anti-slavery movement, Miami University increased in numbers to its greatest size. In July, 1839, there were 250 students. The year 1839 also saw a graduating class of thirty-nine. In July, 1840, however, the total in the University had fallen to an enrollment of 196. The great decrease was in the Grammar School which was connected with the institution, as the College proper lost but seven students. While opposition to Bishop for certain of his activities grew among some people, he gained the favor of many others. The figures show that the university actually prospered when he was in the midst of playing his most active part in the Presbyterian Church of Oxford and slavery struggles. The decline in 1840 was not due to his activities, but rather to a disruption in the administration of the university in which Bishop was overthrown and a man of opposite opinions concerning the church, slavery, and college discipline was hired to replace him.

Although Bishop seems to have adopted a progressive and tolerant attitude, the differences arising out of the ecclesiastical and slavery controversies of the time brought him into a position which was not the best for a continuance of his successful administration of Miami University. The split of the liberals and conservatives in the Oxford Presbyterian Church meant the loss of many of his active local supporters, and the same feeling was reflected throughout the West because of his connection with the Conservatives of which he was virtually the leader. His refusal to line up actively with either of the two major divisions of the Church meant the loss of other supporters. His position and activities in the anti-slavery movement had likewise alienated a large portion of the community which was in the heart of a Democratic region.

By 1840, this lack of general public support had been reflected within the governing body of the university. In 1839, the Reverend Henry Johns, of Hamilton County, moved the adoption by the Board of Trustees of a resolution which was aimed at the anti-slavery activities of Bishop. The president was "respectfully requested" by the Board "to inculcate in his teachings the duty of cultivating an enlarged attachment to our Entire country," without respect to any geographical division such as the North and South. Furthermore, he was to impress upon the students their "sacred obligations to sustain inviolate, the supremacy of the constitution and the laws of the United States and of the State in which their lot may be cast." At this time Bishop was teaching in his experimental course in social science that slavery was contrary to the laws of nature and of God. His stress or emphasis in instructing his students in political science was

[123] President Bishop's report to the Trustees (Journal of the Board) September 30, 1835, p. 326.

not upon one's duty to government, but rather to the growth or development of civil and religious liberty. It was in this very year that his book, *Elements of the Science of Government*, was published.

Another resolution was passed at the same time directed at the part Bishop was playing in the church controversy. "As the Miami University is a literary institution subserveant [*sic*] to the cause of Christianity in General, and not to any particular denomination," the Board declared that all religious services within the university "should be free from reference to any religious excitement existing in, or connected with any department of the visible church."[124]

Although Bishop and his close colleague, Scott, were not of the Garrison brand of abolitionist, they of course had taken a far more bold anti-slavery stand than the Whig party. In the campaign of 1840, Bishop and his followers were opposed to supporting the anti-slavery ticket. Their attitude was the same as that expressed by their friend and ally, Rankin, the famous anti-slavery preacher of Ripley, Ohio, a leader among the Constitutionalists, who wrote in a letter to John H. Thomas that he believed that a change in the administration of the United States government would be the best thing for abolitionism.[125]

Such an attitude would likely not be well accepted by loyal and ardent Whigs. Therefore, Bishop and Scott expected but two groups, and those, minority groups of very little influence, to stand by and protect them. These two groups were the liberal Presbyterians, especially the Conservatives and Constitutionalists, and the anti-slavery elements of moderate views. The resolutions of the Board already quoted show that there were persons among the trustees who opposed Bishop. In addition, during the last two years of Bishop's administration there was some conflict in the faculty. McArthur and Samuel W. McCracken were much more strict Presbyterians than Bishop and Scott. In fact the trouble became so acute that McCracken was expected to resign in the spring of 1840.

The Board was fully aware of the altercation within the faculty. A number of the Board had been seeking some excuse for disposing of Bishop. It seems very probable that they had taken part in expanding the troubles in the faculty. When the Board met on August 11, 1840, the stage had been set. Apparently those about the university felt the impending storm, for Bishop's report contained a full review of the accomplishments of his whole administration. Among other things he pointed out that during the sixteen years he had led the university, only Jefferson College in Pennsylvania had sent forth more graduates or had more students in attendance. On the first day of the meeting of the Board, Professor Chauncey N. Olds, later attorney-general of the state of Ohio, resigned his chair of Latin. The following day McCracken handed in his

[124] Journal of the Board of Trustees of Miami University, August 7, 1839, pp. 462-63.

[125] John H. Thomas: In Memoriam, The Rev. John Witherspoon Scott (Pamphlet).

resignation of the chair of mathematics. The resignations were referred to a committee composed of John B. Weller, former governor of Ohio, Jeremiah Morrow, and James C. Barnes, which was "to inquire into the expediency of reorganizing the Faculty of Miami University."[126]

The committee recommended a "full, free, and friendly conversation" with the members of the faculty. A new committee consisting of Morrow, David McDill, and Johns was then appointed which conferred with the faculty and the president. After that conference Johns returned to the Board with the resignation of Bishop as president of Miami University, to take effect as soon as a successor was chosen. The trustees immediately proceeded to the election of a new president. John C. Young, president of Centre College at Danville, Kentucky, was elected unanimously. In the further reorganization of the university it was determined to reduce the power of the president. Bishop had been since his election the presiding officer of both the Board of Trustees and the university. At this time the positions were separated and McDill became the president of the Board.

The removal of Bishop had been accomplished through a compromise in which he was promised the Professorship of History and Political Science, a department especially created for him,[127] and to which he was elected unanimously on motion of Johns, who had engineered his removal from the presidency. A committee of the Board reported in favor of a salary of $650 for the position. The other members, however, raised it to $750 which was still lower than the salaries of the other professors of the school.

When the other professors had resigned, Scott had refused to hand in his resignation. Weller, a trustee, moved to declare the position vacant, but the action against Bishop was felt to be enough for the time being and the motion against Scott was postponed.

The newly chosen president of the university, Young, was not a believer in slavery, but he was not active in the anti-slavery movement, as was his predecessor. Young's attitude was that of the Kentuckians, sometimes described as "Gradualists," of which Bishop had earlier been a member in spirit. But Bishop had become more active in the anti-slavery struggle as has been noted. In the 1830's Young joined Charles Hodge of Princeton Theological Seminary in writing and publishing articles which in their attitude toward slavery favored extenuation of it, if they did not actually defend it. Young's stand, as expressed by himself in 1835, was as follows:

> The difference, then, between the gradual emancipator and the abolitionist is not as to the criminal nature of slavery—they agree in considering it an enormous evil—but it is a difference as to the best mode of getting rid of this evil. The gradualist terminates slavery by first changing the condition of

[126] Journal of the Board, August 11 and 12, 1840, Miami University MSS., I, p. 487ff.

[127] Journal of the Board, August 6, 1844, *ibid.*, II (1842-1852), p. 98.

> his slaves into a kind of apprenticeship; he organizes them into a class of probationers for freedom. He still retains for a time his authority over them, but exercises it for their good as well as his own; and thus prepares them, as speedily as possible, for the employment of self-government. The abolitionist would put an end to slavery at once surrendering up to the slaves all his power over them; thus giving them the immediate and full enjoyment of absolute freedom.[128]

To the northern anti-slavery leader such an attitude appeared to be a compromise with the pro-slavery South. The South, on the other hand, saw in it nothing threatening the immediate set-up. Likewise the pro-slavery advocates in the North found the Young doctrine much more satisfactory to their point of view than that of the immediatist anti-slavery leader. Young actually differed from Bishop to a greater extent, however, in the church controversy. He remained definitely with the orthodox Calvinists in 1846 and was one of the leading candidates for the position of moderator of the Assembly of the Old School.

Young failed, however, to accept the position offered him at Miami University. A special meeting of the Board was called November 3, 1840 and Barnes was appointed to make a trip to Danville to interview Young in the hope of getting his acceptance. In case Young did not accept, then another man, Dr. George Junkin, president of Lafayette College at Easton, Pennsylvania, was to be chosen.[129]

Through the winter Bishop remained as acting president of Miami University, relinquishing on April 12, 1841, the control of the university he had built to an opponent in church and slavery questions.

When Junkin arrived he had one strong supporter on the faculty, Professor John MacArthur, who, like Junkin, was an ardent Old School minister, having been the member of the Oxford presbytery who conceived the means for prohibiting the ordination of Henry Ward Beecher. He was also pro-slavery in sentiment. Scott had promised that if Junkin came in "any other spirit than that of an Inquisitor General," he would support him for the "sake of peace." Bishop likewise adopted the attitude of co-operation with his successor. So far as can be ascertained from letters and otherwise, he never said an unkind or bitter word concerning Junkin. Bishop severely felt the cut dealt him by the Board, but it was not he but his friends and former students who waged the battle against Junkin.

It was hardly to be expected that a man whose orthodoxy had led him to the prosecution of one of the chief heresy trials in the Presbyterian Church in the United States could exist long in the West without entering into serious conflicts. As Scott had feared, hardly had Junkin become established at Miami University than he won the ill will of those who opposed him on religious and other grounds. At the inauguration of the new president in August, 1841, the Board, through its speaker, Henry

[128] Daniel R. Goodloe, *The Southern Platform: or Manual of Southern Sentiment on the Subject of Slavery* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Co., 1858), p. 68.

[129] Journal of the Board, November 3, 1840, Miami University, MSS., I, pp. 503-4.

Johns, issued its formal excuse for dismissing Bishop from the position. The excuse was lack of proper discipline, which had already been rumored and which Bishop had ably refuted in his address to the graduating class just a year previously.

In his inaugural address Junkin immediately antagonized the followers of ex-president Bishop by answering the trustees with a promise of a new government for the institution. Whereas Bishop had throughout his administration declared for paternal, liberal, and democratic policies of government, Junkin expressed himself in favor of more arbitrary principles:

> Every school is a monarchy, but of a patriarchal character. Now a monarchy is the best of all governments, if the monarch be a perfect moral being. The sceptre must be swayed by the hand of benevolence. The monarch must be an incarnation of *love* and *decision;* the absence of *decision* produces anarchy, the absence of *love* despotism.[130]

During the course of the address Junkin promised an era of government according to moral law, with the Bible as the "grand written charter of human rights," and the Ten Commandments as the "first written constitution for man's government, Maxima Charta of human rights."

Bishop had governed the institution according to his own political philosophy, which included faith in democratic government. On the other hand, Junkin governed according to his own and the faculty's application of what they thought to be the moral law. Virtuous students he attempted to create in this manner: "We hold up on the law, the sword of justice, and warn off all from its glittering point; if, notwithstanding our best efforts, any mad youth will rush upon it and impail himself, we let him die. His blood will be upon his own head; our skirts are clear."[131] Such a declaration must have seemed the height of insensibility to the socially-minded Bishop.

[130] George Junkin, "Inaugural Address" in *Two Addresses*, p. 26.
[131] George Junkin, *ibid.*, pp. 42-5.

CHAPTER V

ROBERT HAMILTON BISHOP

To the west of Edinburgh in Scotland is the county of Linlithgow, also known as West Lothian. It is a territory rich in historical romance. Within it lies the wall of Antonius, and the remains of Roman camps can be distinguished. Historical associations, however, center mainly about the country town of Linlithgow, the ancient royal burgh, often known as the "Windsor of Scotland." In the famous palace, rebuilt between 1425 and 1628, were born James I of England and Mary Queen of Scots.

In the southern part of this shire, in a section of Scotland and soon to become famous as a coal, iron, and oil district, was a small community called Cult, in the Parish of Whitburn, where lived the family of William Bishop, a struggling farmer. Three children had been born to him when his wife died in 1774. Two years later he married Margaret Hamilton, a girl of seventeen. The following year, on July 26, 1777, she gave birth to her first child, named for her maternal grandfather, Robert Hamilton.

The immediate Bishop family was quite lowly in its social rank. Robert's great grandfather, grandfather and father were tenants on the landed estate of Polkemmet. The lord of the estate during his boyhood was William Baillie, who, as Bishop said, was the only legitimate son of his father. The tenants of the estate were required to work for their lord at certain times during the year. The requirements were so arranged, however, that the work was not considered degrading to the tenants or their sons. Lord Polkemmet (William Baillie) was a great profligate. Bishop has written of several scandals in which his lord played the principal part.[132]

Robert's boyhood was that of a typical Scottish farmer lad. Had he had the poetic temperament of Robert Burns, whose daughter married his cousin, John Bishop, he might often have been found on his father's land leaning upon his plow as he dreamed songs of fair maidens and Scottish scenes and looking over the hills at Edinburgh, which could be seen from his home.

His family was a most religious and devout one. Among his ancestors were Covenanters and Reformers who had suffered persecution for religious freedom in Scotland. The former group were insurgents who had taken up arms in behalf of the Presbyterian form of church government from 1637 on and, more specifically after the Act of 1162 had been passed, denouncing the Solemn League and Covenant as a seditious oath. In 1690, after the glorious Revolution when William of Orange was placed on the throne, Presbyterianism was established in Scotland. Because of the governmental control of the church permitted by this arrangement, a

[132] Robert H. Bishop, MSS., (In Bishop homestead, Oxford, Ohio.)

group known as the Reformed Presbyterians broke away to be recognized as dissenters of the church and protesters against meeting the outside world.

Robert left his father's home in November, 1793, and traveled the twenty miles to Edinburgh in order to enter the university in that city. Unquestionably he was unprepared to enter the regular course of study, so his first session was spent only in recitations in the first class of Greek. His expenses, amounting to about one hundred dollars, were paid by his father. That summer he returned to his home, his mind full of despair as to what should be his future employment. During that period a younger brother, James, and his half sister, Helen, died, and the family suffered other reverses which prohibited their aiding young Bishop's return to the university. This heightened his feeling of desperation.

Through the influence of his parents and his church relations, his intentions had been to become a minister. But by coincidence his period of despair came at the outbreak of the wars arising out of the French Revolution. Daily, Bishop wrote later, he had strong temptations to join His Majesty's army or navy. Actually his mind was not made up until after he had again left his father's home. In the fall of 1794 Robert traveled toward Edinburgh this time without purpose or funds for his maintenance. He might have joined some recruiting party in Edinburgh, or he might have given himself up to some man-of-war lying in the harbor of Leith, for he was a tall, rugged, commanding youth.

His scholastic proclivities, however, led him back to the university. He certainly entertained the hope that God would find some way for him to attend. On arriving at the school he went to one of Professor James Finlayson's introductory lectures in logic. After the lecture he approached the profesor to learn what would be the lowest terms upon which he would be admitted to the classes in logic. Bishop wrote in his "Recollections":

> He with a great deal of frankness and without any inquiry as to who I was, or whence I came, immediately replied that if I was a young man worth attending to, he would not only admit me to his course, without any charge, but also secure to me the same privilege from the other professors during the four year's course. And he did so . . . And as an acknowledgement of my gratitude to the Father of Mercies for his kindness through the professors at Edinburgh I admitted into my little college, always one, sometimes two scholars, without any charge. I afterwards found that there was a mutual agreement between professors, that no young man who was promising should be deprived of attending any of their departments, merely because he was not able to advance the ordinary fee of two or three guineas, to each professor whom he was to attend, at the beginning of each session. My college fees, if they had been demanded, would have amounted to $150. I had no letter of introduction connected with the college, had never spoken to Prof. Finlayson, till I introduced myself, and had only seen and heard him once or twice in his lecture room.[133]

The Burghers and all Secessionists, though not persecuted as previous

[133] Robert H. Bishop MSS., (In Bishop homestead, Oxford, Ohio), p. 8.

dissenters had been, were at some disadvantages in comparison with the members of the Established church. The expense of sending young Bishop to the church school was much greater than that of educating the children of the Established. A certain feeling of external opposition to the Secessionists led them to unite more closely and to lessen their intercourse with other people. Contacts among themselves were much more frequent and the unifying influence of the group was an intense religious feeling and experience.

Education meant only religious instruction to the Bishop family and their neighbors. When Robert went to the fields to tend the flocks and herds, his Bible, and perhaps a catechism, was always with him. The main topic of conversation among Bishop's early acquaintances was the sermon of the previous Sunday or some phase of Biblical history. Many days and evenings were spent by Robert and his friends gathered together in one of the homes of the community in religious devotions reading from the Scriptures and singing the Psalms.

Each summer, after planting had been finished, a series of revivals began. Around Whitburn there were some six or eight congregations which associated for these "protracted meetings." These gatherings usually lasted from Thursday until the following Monday and were held during the summer about every two weeks. When harvest time arrived the solemnities varied from October 1 to December 1. Although the congregations had meeting houses, the revivals were far too large to be held within the buildings. Consequently the services were held in the open air, even when the weather and temperature scarcely permitted. Of course, during the winter months these intensely emotional gatherings were discontinued.[134]

After four years of study at the University of Edinburgh, with about ten dollars and fifty cents in his pocket, he finally completed his college education but without a diploma because he was a dissenter. During the vacations he taught school at the Wilsontown Iron Works but a few miles north of the scene of Robert Owen's socialistic experiment at New Lanark, Scotland. Because the university sessions lasted only five months of the year, Bishop was able to teach profitably from April 1 through October. In his teaching he was under the direction of his pastor, Brown, but Bishop's position was rather an experimental one, like the similar work of David Dale at his mills at New Lanark.[135] The people with whom Bishop associated in this enterprise were the typical industrial slaves whose condition was to be considerably bettered by a number of reforms during the nineteenth century. These industrial colonies of depressed paupers were forced to live under the brutal control of masters who had developed a morbid condition of the mind which enjoyed inflicting punishment.

[134] The description of these revivals taken from "Recollections and Reflections," Bishop MSS., pp. 5-6.

[135] G. D. H. Cole, *A New View of Society by Robert Owen* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons. Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1927), pp. 93-119.

Naturally the employees resented interference on the part of anyone in their lives.

So when the young teacher went to teach his first school, he was presented with perhaps the most difficult pedagogical problems of his entire career. All of his students were antagonistic and bitter toward him. Filth, disease and starvation were their lot. Like the insubordinate mule, they could be driven to their work only with the whip. They were a debased and demoralized lot who grew up to treat others as they themselves had been treated by their masters. No other teacher in the community had ever maintained a semblance of authority.[136] Bishop was the first to achieve success in his work, and even when he was in Edinburgh during the five winter months, the people of his school would have no other teacher.

While at the Wilsontown Iron Works he organized a Sunday School for both young and old. The meetings, Bishop has written, were held on Sunday evenings and were well attended. This, of course, was also somewhat of an experiment, following the Sunday School movement initiated by Robert Raikes in 1782. It was an experiment which Bishop was to carry into the wilds of Kentucky a few years later.

Why Bishop succeeded in his first teaching position, perhaps his most trying, he does not record. Those who have studied his life find in his success those personal characteristics which were to give him so much influence and popularity among his students of American colleges. A democratic spirit, a sincere and intimate sympathy for and understanding of the persons with whom he came in contact, and a warm nonpatronizing kindness made him a respected leader.

Life to Bishop had suddenly become very complicated and most interesting. The city of Edinburgh, and Scotland as a whole, were at this time experiencing an intellectual revival. In Edinburgh the development centered about the university, which had been the first in Great Britain to follow the new science of Isaac Newton. On the faculty had been such famous men as David Hume, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Thomas Reid, William Robertson, and many others. These noted teachers attracted students from all parts of the world and prepared new teachers to take their places and increase the high reputation which they had given the university. The direction of this intellectual movement within the university was toward liberalism.

In August, 1798, the Edinburgh student entered the Theological Seminary of his church at Selkirk, the county town of the shire of the same name. One can scarcely visualize more glorious opportunity for an education than Bishop had. From the historical shire of Linlithgow he moved into the intellectual and progressive society of Edinburgh and from there into romantic and poetic Selkirkshire, in the midst of the "Walter Scott Country." Within a year after Bishop arrived in Selkirk, Scott came as a deputy sheriff of the shire.

[136] "Recollections and Reflections," Bishop MSS., p. 11.

Selkirk was located on the Ettrick only a short distance below the junction of that river with the Yarrow which William Wordsworth has celebrated in three famous poems. Bishop remarked in his "Recollections" that he spent much time in the forest and on the banks of the Ettrick in reflection upon his studies and the various "transactions and feelings and opinions of these days."[137]

To Bishop "the time spent at the Hall [seminary] was generally considered as the most agreeable of the year, if not of life." The term was only two months out of each year. During the other ten months the students were under the care of their respective presbyteries. The professor of the seminary was the Reverend George Lawson, a man of uncommon ability and a great scholar. He had studied theology under John Sevanston of Kinross and Brown of Haddington. At the age of twenty-two he was licensed and began to preach to the congregation of the Burgher Church at Selkirk. In 1787 he succeeded Brown of Haddington as professor at the seminary. He is declared to have known the Bible by heart and a great deal of it in Hebrew and Greek. When he died he left eighty large volumes in manuscript forming a commentary on the Bible. Lawson is supposed to have been the original of Josiah Cargill in Scott's *St. Roman's Well*. Scott thus describes this famous professor who taught Bishop:

> He was characterized by all who knew him as a mild, gentle and studious lover of learning, who, in knowledge, and especially of that connected with his profession, had the utmost indulgence for all whose pursuits were different from his own. His sole relaxations were those of a gentle, mild, and pensive temper, and were limited to a ramble, almost always solitary, among the woods.[138]

The days at the seminary were filled with classes and lectures, religious exercises, strolls through the forest along the streams, society meetings, and private and public sessions in which the student did the speaking. It was during these years that three great questions were introduced into the discussions in nearly all the theological seminaries in the British Isles. These were the questions as Bishop gave them: (1) Domestic and foreign missions; (2) The Divine Authority, or the propriety and utility of the Church being in any degree, or in any form, under the control of the Civil Government; (3) The Nature and character of the Gospel ministry.[139]

When Bishop began the study of divinity, the era of modern missions had just begun. The great concern had resolved itself into ways of carrying the "one church of the Redeemer" into the lands of the heathen. The whole study of the problem then convulsing his little seminary further opened his eyes to the broadened view of non-sectarianism.

After four years at the seminary, Bishop was licensed by the presbytery of Perth in June, 1802. This, however, came after an event had taken

[137] "Recollections and Reflections," Bishop MSS., p. 14.
[138] Sir Walter Scott. *St. Roman's Well*. Household edition (Boston), p. 167.
[139] "Recollections and Reflections," Bishop MSS., p. 17.

place which was among the most important in his life. It was the acceptance of an offer which took him away from his mother, father, his brother and sisters, his friends, his country, over the Atlantic to the new republic of the United States. At a meeting in 1801 of the Synod of the Associate Reformed Church of North America a resolution was passed: "That a minister of this Church be sent to Great Britain and Ireland, or either of them, to procure a competent number of evangelical ministers and probationers."

The Reverend John M. Mason[140] of New York City, who was chosen to make the trip, arrived in Scotland in the summer of 1801. During his sojourn he spent a few days visiting with Lawson where he met the students of the theological seminary. Here he became acquainted with Bishop who has related the following incident:

> Two or three weeks afterwards on returning from the Theological class I stopped one night at Edinburgh and late in the evening, I and another student met Dr. Mason at the crossing of two streets. Had either of us been two or three minutes earlier or later at the spot, the meeting could not have taken place. He invited us to his lodgings and we passed an hour or two with him in miscellaneous conversation but with very little reference to the object of his mission. And yet from that accidental interview originated some two months later a kind of half engagement on my part to go to America.[141]

Before Bishop left for America another important event took place in his life. Sometime in the year 1801, he met the girl who was to become his wife. On August 25, 1802, he married Ann Ireland at Buckhaven, on the Firth of Forth. Immediately probationer Bishop, now twenty-five years old, and his bride, four years his junior, set sail for New York with Mason and five ordained ministers. About five weeks later on October 2, they landed.

Less than a week later the Associate Reformed Synod met in New York. Bishop was assigned to Kentucky by the vote of the Moderator of the Synod. The Second Congregation of New York wanted Bishop to be retained with them, and five years later again extended the invitation to him. By the first week in November, however, he was on his way to Kentucky under the care of the Reverends Adam Rankin and John Steele. Coming over Zane's Trace, they arrived at Chillicothe, Ohio, just on the adjournment of the convention which formed that State's first constitution. For two months Bishop remained in Adams County as a supply minister to two new congregations, then in March, 1803, traveled on into Kentucky.

For eighteen months he traveled throughout Kentucky and the Miami Valley in southern Ohio visiting the various congregations and helping to

[140] Rev. John M. Mason was first professor of New York Theological Seminary and prominent in the establishment of Princeton Theological Seminary. Robert H. Bishop, *An Outline of the Church in the State of Kentucky* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1824), p. 273.

[141] Thorton A. Mills. *The Life and Services of Rev. R. H. Bishop, D.D.*, (1889), pp. 23-4; also in "Recollections and Reflections" in Bishop homestead, Oxford, Ohio.

establish new churches. He seems to have enjoyed this work and was much satisfied with his future prospects. He wrote of this period: "No individual could have been more cordially received than I was during my eighteen months travelling, nor can any words express the satisfaction which I enjoyed in nearly all my social intercourse, both in public and private."[142]

The pioneer life of the early West appealed to Bishop. He immediately saw the possibilities of great expansion in it and soon began to consider settling himself and his wife in this region.

In the fall of 1803 his presbytery tried to prevail upon him to become an evangelist, but he positively refused. Religion in Kentucky at this time was at one of its peaks. The "Great Revival" of 1800 and 1801 had left the region in a high state of emotional excitement. But apparently Bishop had no desire to continue the life of a "saddle bagger" or "circuit rider." He chose rather to preach to a single congregation, and in the summer of 1803 he accepted the call from the Ebenezer congregation in Jessamine County. This county is just south of Fayette County of which Lexington is the county seat.

The church was also connected with the New Providence congregation in Mercer County, west of Jessamine County. The two congregations contained about thirty families living in an area of fifteen square miles, and the Kentucky River and the Kentucky Cliffs were located between them. Bishop's salary was two-hundred dollars per year, one half cash and the other in family provisions.

About this time a professorship at Transylvania University in Lexington was offered Bishop. Because of his connection with the church he resisted but, having received the advice of many others, he accepted the position in the fall of 1804, when he was made professor of moral philosophy, logic, criticism and belles lettres.[143] His week days were to be spent in the university, and Saturdays and Sundays were to be devoted to his congregations. The acceptance of the position at Transylvania decided for him the question of definite settlement, and in November, 1804, he took up with his wife permanent quarters in the town of Lexington.

At thirty, Bishop had made no name for himself. But he had received the background and the foundation for the work which he was to carry on. Very few men arrived on the frontier with the training which he had received in Scotland. After he had received that training, he had tramped and ridden through the backwoods as a circuit rider. He had now, in addition, begun the career of teaching which was to render him so useful to this country.

Upon settling in Lexington, Bishop immediately began to devote himself seriously to his work as a professor and preacher. During his early years

[142] Thorton A. Mills, *ibid.*, p. 24.

[143] Thorton A. Mills, *ibid.*, p. 24; see also "Recollections and Reflections," in Bishop Homestead, Oxford, Ohio.

he spent a great amount of his time preparing sermons and lectures. Besides serving the congregations of Ebenezer, he preached frequently in Salt River, Madison County, Frankfort, Harrodsburg, Shiloh, Paris, and elsewhere. In Lexington, he spoke both in churches and in the university chapel. For the purpose of traveling about, he bought a horse, and somewhat later, a second horse so that his family might go to church when he was away. He was an itinerant preacher, but not an evangelist, not a "spell binder." After having read a life of George Whitfield in these early years, he wrote in 1807, "I doubt much if men who made the most noise in the world have been always the most useful."[144] His speaking tours were not confined to Kentucky. As early as the spring of 1807 he journeyed through southern Ohio. On that trip he preached at Mill Creek in Warren County and Mt. Pleasant in Butler County. The fall of the same year he returned to Ohio, preaching in Adams County and in Chillicothe. In 1808, he made the trip again and a number of times thereafter, going from Ohio on into the Indiana Territory.

Just when Bishop developed his antagonism to slavery is not known. Probably he carried it with him from Scotland. He showed great tact for many years in not exposing himself to the ridicule which he would have seen sure to receive in such a pro-slavery section. When he arrived in Kentucky, he soon came to know Reverend David Rice, the father of Presbyterianism in the West.[145] It was this man who took the first conspicious step toward the abolition of slavery in Kentucky.[146] It was Bishop who was chosen to edit the "Memoirs of David Rice," which appeared in *An Outline of the History of the Church in Kentucky.* The Rice papers were placed in Bishop's hands in 1815.

In May, 1815, Bishop began the organization of Sunday Schools for blacks. This was the first work of the kind attempted in Kentucky. Bishop's training in the Wilsontown Iron Works undoubtedly helped him in this undertaking. The idea arose out of the success of the Reverend John Lyle who had spent four months the previous summer preaching to the Negroes in several Kentucky counties. Bishop at first organized these Sunday evening schools outside the town of Lexington where they were held at the various private homes of some of his friends. In the fall of 1815, he started such a school at Pisgah, Kentucky.[147] By December, he had established a Negro school in Lexington, and early in the spring of

[144] "Recollections and Reflections" Robert H. Bishop MSS., Bishop Homestead, Oxford, Ohio. August 3, 1807.

[145] Robert Hamilton Bishop, *An Outline of the History of the Church in the State of Kentucky, during a Period of Forty Years, Containing the Memoirs of Rev. David Rice and Sketches of the Original and Particular Churches and the Lives of the Men Who Were Eminent and Useful in Their Day, Lexington, Kentucky:* Thomas T. Skillman (1824), p. 175.

[146] Bishop, *An Outline of the History of the Church in the State of Kentucky,* pp. 95, 385; Asa Earl Martin, *The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky Prior to 1850. Filson Club Publications* (Louisville, Kentucky, 1918), No. 29, p. 12.

[147] Bishop's Weekly Journal, September 4, 1815, Bishop MSS.

1816, he opened a Sunday evening school for Negro girls in the university.[148]

It became his active work each Sunday to visit these various schools, to give examinations to the students and directions or suggestions to the teachers. In addition he preached to Negroes at their gatherings. Nearly every Sunday from 1815 to 1820 he preached to them sometime during the day. Naturally his activities in this direction were frowned upon by many. Hugh S. Fullerton, in his printed review of the action on slavery taken by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1845, stated that "Dr. Bishop was more than once returned to the Grand Jury, for opening a Sabbath for slaves in Lexington." On June 10, 1816, Bishop wrote in his "Weekly Journal": "Yesterday twelve months I made the first proposal for a Sabbath School in town. Scarcely, an individual saw its importance and not one was disposed to give it any assistance. We have teachers now in abundance." The same year saw the foundation of the American Colonization Society at Washington with Henry Clay among its leaders. By 1823, the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, of which Bishop was a member, had taken notice to voice its approval of this society.[149] Bishop's good friend, Thomas T. Skillman, began his *Western Luminary*, a Presbyterian publication which from its inception carried attacks on the system of slavery.

During all these years at Transylvania, since 1804, Bishop had been a professor. Among his more distinguished colleagues on the faculty were James Blythe, D.D., acting president of the school from 1804 to 1816; James Brown, later minister to France, professor of law; Henry Clay, also professor of law; Doctors Benjamin Dudley, Daniel Drake, and William H. Richardson of the Medical School; and Joseph Cabell Breckenridge, Jesse Bledsoe, and Constantine S. Rafinesque.

In March, 1816, Blythe resigned his position as acting president. At that time the management of the institution devolved upon Bishop who was aided by Sharpe. Meanwhile the Board of Trustees was attempting to find a new president. In November, 1815, Horace Holley, a Unitarian minister of Boston had been chosen, but factional influences caused the rescinding of this action. After other attempts, Holley was chosen president on October 15, 1817, though he did not accept until June 25, 1818. Meanwhile there had been a shake-up in the board of trustees.

Bishop apparently welcomed this change in attitude of the people of Kentucky toward Transylvania. He saw in the appointment of the new board by the State Legislature advantages to the school and to himself. He was not satisfied, however, with the choice of Holley as the new president. When Holley took office in November, 1818, Bishop wrote

[148] Alfred A. Thomas (ed.) Correspondence of Thomas Egenezer Thomas (Published by his son, 1909), p. 41. Bishop records nothing of the sort in any of his writings.

[149] Robert Davidson. *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky* (New York, 1847), p. 337.

in his "Weekly Journal," "Had our new President instated last week–A decided Socinian, if not an infidel."[150]

Not many months after Holley's election, apparently Bishop began to look about for a different position. He attempted to find an opening in the Chillicothe Academy, a Presbyterian institution, but the professor of the school wrote, "I can make you no offer such as is worthy of your attention." The letter contained a proposal that Bishop start a Presbyterian "literary institution" at Chillicothe. Or, the writer suggested, "I will let you take the classical and scientific departments in the academy and assist you merely; and open a female department."[151] Nothing came of this offer.

The discordant feeling which existed from the beginning between Holley and Bishop continued until Bishop's resignation six years later. Holley did many things to court the ill will of his senior professor. Not long after Holley's arrival, Bishop was removed from his department and was placed in the chair of mathematics.[152] He had scarcely prepared to teach this subject properly when he was assigned to take charge of history instead, and in addition taught natural philosophy, geography, chronology, and some theology.

That the troubles between Holley and Bishop were not all of an ecclesiastical nature is probable, for some of Bishop's staunchest friends were among Holley's most loyal supporters, namely Wickliffe, chairman of the Board, Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, and Morrison. That Bishop was perhaps too antagonistic toward Holley from the start because of his own religious convictions is granted. That attitude, however, was nowhere openly displayed until some time after Holley had mistreated him. That Holley was a good and liberal man is undoubted. He too, however, had certain faults which have been overlooked in the portrayal of his life.

Bishop was not the only teacher in the institution who suffered. Rafinesque, one of the early scientists of the United States, met with the same unkind treatment at the hands of Holley, who did not look with favor upon natural sciences.[153] Rafinesque once journeyed to Washington to take out patents on an invention, which is said to be the basis for the present coupon system on bonds and similar instruments. On returning, he found that Holley had broken into his rooms, given one to some students, and had thrown all his effects, books and collections in a heap in the other.[154]

[150] Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky*, December 21, 1818.

[151] John McFarland to R. H. Bishop, March 5, 1818, Bishop MSS. (in Bishop homestead, Oxford, Ohio.)

[152] *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Transylvania University* 1821, Lexington, Kentucky.

[153] Richard Ellsworth Call, *The Life and Writings of Rafinesque*, Filson Club Publications (Louisville, Kentucky, 1895), No. 10, p. 38.

[154] Ida W. Harrison. "The Transylvania Botanic Garden," *Journal of American History* (New Haven, 1907) VII (1913) No. 1.

By 1824, the dissension between Bishop and Holley had developed to a crisis. On April 13, a letter was issued by order of the Board of Trustees to the ministers in Lexington, inviting each and all of them to preach in the university chapel. It immediately brought an unfavorable reaction from those disliking Holley. On April 16, John Breckenridge and Nathan Hall, ministers of the Presbyterian Church answered the invitation of the Board with a long letter questioning the rectitude and purpose of the trustees' plan. They declared that they would never allow their appearance before the students of the university to be interpreted as "any compromise with the president" on the religious issues in which they were opposing him.[155]

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1824, the Board of Trustees of Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, had decided to open that institution and had appointed a committee to choose the first president. The members of this committee of the Board were David Higgins, Alexander Porter, William Graham, David McDill, and William Gray.[156] That Porter knew Bishop is certain because of their church connections and correspondence. McDill had attended Transylvania from 1811 to 1813, where he was one of Bishop's favorite students and had been sent by him to the New York Theological Seminary to study with Mason. Graham had visited Lexington where he met Bishop the summer of 1823.

Other members of the Board of Trustees of Miami University undoubtedly knew or had heard of Bishop. The records of Transylvania University, though containing surnames only, report in attendance between 1802 and 1812 students whose names correspond to those of some of the members of the Miami Trustees. These are Elliott, Johnston, Short and Gray. John Smith attended Transylvania from 1811 to 1813. The Reverend John Thomson and Bishop had been friends as a result of their church associations. David Purviance, president of the Board from 1822 to 1824, had been a member of the Kentucky Legislature before he moved to Ohio in 1807, and because Transylvania was a state institution and he was considerably interested in education, he was undoubtedly acquainted with Bishop. Besides definite connections which suggest the key to the choice of Bishop as president of Miami University, it must be remembered that he was well known throughout this region which he visited year after year on his preaching tours.

When the Board met on July 6, 1824, Bishop was elected on the first ballot. He was notified of his appointment by a letter of July 8, and after consideration he determined to accept. It seemed to him that without a radical change in the administration of Transylvania, he could not continue longer with "either comfort or usefulness." The Market Street Church which he had been so instrumental in founding and maintaining and in

[155] John Breckenridge and Nathan Hall to the chairman of the Board of Trustees of Transylvania University, April 16, 1824, in official Correspondence, Transylvania University MSS.

[156] Journal of the Board of Trustees, April 8, 1824, Miami University MSS.

which he had preached for about two years no longer needed him for its support. "My withdrawal at this time," he thought, "may have a considerable influence in bringing to an end the infidel administration of the university." Finally he saw that in the less developed regions of the state of Ohio his sphere of influence and usefulness would be much greater than in Kentucky.[157]

After having formally accepted the presidency of Miami University, Bishop returned to Lexington. On his way home he wrote to James McBride, a trustee of Miami, asking that the old log school building on the Miami campus, which had been erected in 1811, and which was to be the president's home, be repaired, "be white washed both within and without," and that a sitting room be built as an addition to the building.[158] About the middle of October the Bishop family, now composed of eight children ranging in ages from three to nineteen and a female slave working for her freedom, left by horses and wagon for Oxford.

In summarizing Bishop's life in Kentucky, it may be said that his was a life typical of pioneer leaders, full of struggles and contentions, most of them centering about the questions of religion and morality. The bitter altercations in which Bishop became involved can be understood only in a proper comprehension of the life of the time. Though liberal to a certain degree in his religious beliefs, Bishop was nevertheless a Presbyterian who played a prominent part in the development of Presbyterian leadership in the state of Kentucky. His posture in defending Presbyterian illiberality toward the Holley administration of Transylvania University perhaps cannot be excused in the opinion of historians but can be explained by his desire to maintain the Presbyterian God in Transylvania, and by his personal prejudice against Holley which Holley himself intensified by unfriendly treatment. In the light of Bishop's entire history, perhaps the greatest inconsistency of his life was the controversy with Holley.

Still one must not be led to think that all of his time and energy were spent in such conflict, for it took but a small amount of his daily life during those years he was becoming such an influence at Transylvania University. He cannot be denied a position in the first rank of early western professors. For twenty-one years he served the institution, and in the course of those years helped to produce some of the most famous men in the history of the United States.

Here John Cabell Breckenridge, vice-president of the United States, candidate for the presidency against Lincoln and one of the leaders of the Confederacy, received part of his training with Bishop, before he was transferred to the more orthodox Centre College. Stephen Fuller Austin, the founder of the Texan Republic; Albert Sidney Johnston, major general

[157] Weekly Journal, August 9, 1824, Bishop MSS.

[158] September 21, 1824, in John E. Bradford (ed.) "The James McBride Manuscripts: Selections Relating to Miami University," Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio *Quarterly Publication* (Cincinnati, 1906) IV (1909) No. 2, pp. 81-82.

of the armies of the Confederacy; Edward Allen Hannegan, Senator from Indiana, noted expansionist leader under Jackson and minister to Berlin; George Wallace Jones, Senator from Iowa and one of the most prominent leaders in securing the establishment of Iowa and Wisconsin Territories; these and many others were among Bishop's students. Henry Clay sent his sons to the preparatory school connected with the university and later to the university itself, where they studied with Bishop.

Bishop was a power among his students. His attitude toward them was probably influenced by his professional contacts in Scotland which he maintained in a democratic spirit. He always enjoyed his association with young men, and the older he grew the more he courted their confidence and friendship. The students virtually worshipped at his altar in return. It has been said that once during a student riot after Holley became president, one of the participants declared, "Mr. Bishop could have done [quelled] it. We may respect Dr. Holley, but we love Mr. Bishop."[159]

Another Transylvania student, Jefferson Davis, paid his respects in his memoirs to his favorite professor, Bishop, of whom he wrote that he was:

> A man of large attainments and very varied knowledge. His lectures in history are remembered as well for their wide information as for their keen appreciation of the characteristics of mankind . . . In his lectures on the history of the Bible his faith was that of a child, not doubting nor questioning, and believing literally as it was written.[160]

[159] Thorton A. Mills, *Life and Services of R. H. Bishop, D.D.* (Reprint from October, 1889, *The Presbyterian Quarterly Review* (Philadelphia and New York) IV, December (1855), p. 5.

[160] Mrs. Jefferson Davis, *Jefferson Davis Ex-President of the Confederate States of America, a Memoir* (New York, 1890), I, pp. 23-24.

CHAPTER VI

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Article Nine, section one of the first Indiana Constitution (1816) contained the framers' affirmation of faith in the necessity of education:

> Knowledge and learning generally diffused, through a community, being essential to the preservation of a free government, and spreading the opportunities of education through the various parts of the Country, being highly conducive to this end, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to provide by law, for the improvement of such lands as are, or hereafter may be granted, by the United States to this state, for the use of schools, and to apply any funds which may be raised from such lands, or from any other quarters to the accomplishment of the grand object for which they are or may be intended.

Section two of the same article was more specific and mandatory:

> It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law, for a general system of education, ascending in a regular graduation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all.[161]

This was a noble aspiration for an undeveloped frontier state whose citizens barely lived above the subsistence level. Although the educational ideal was incorporated in this organic law, it took many years of unceasing effort to reach the goal. There was no state-wide system of public education at any level until after 1850. The state university envisioned by the framers of the constitution was created in three progressive stages between 1820 and 1838 (Indiana Seminary, 1820-28; Indiana College, 1828-38; Indiana University, 1838-).

Three years and six months elasped before "circumstances" permitted the General Assembly to pass an act, which Governor Jonathan Jennings signed into law January 20, 1820, establishing the Indiana Seminary in the village of Bloomington. The law named the first trustees, empowered them to meet, sell seminary lands for support of the proposed institution, and erect a building. By November, 1823, the building had progressed to the point that the Board elected a teacher, Baynard R. Hall, and on the first of May, 1824, Indiana State Seminary opened its doors to students.[162]

[161] Richard G. Boone, *History of Education in Indiana*, New York: D. Appleton and Co., (1892), pp. 10-11 (Reprint by Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, 1941).

[162] Herman G. Wells, "The Early History of Indiana University as Reflected in the Administration of Andrew Wylie, 1829-1851," The Filson Club History Quarterly (Louisville, Kentucky) 36:2 (April, 1962), p. 116; also see: James Albert Woodburn, *History of Indiana University* (1891).

Baynard Rush Hall was born in Philadelphia in 1793. He worked for a time as a printer and after graduation from Union College and Princeton Theological Seminary became a Presbyterian minister. Through his printing activities he had learned of William Henry Harrison, the Battle of Tippecanoe, and other events associated with the western aspects of the War of 1812 and he became interested in the West. Acting upon that interest he moved his family to Indiana about 1823 and lived for a year or so with relations near Gosport. Although he did some preaching in the area, Hall perhaps entertained hopes of being selected to the faculty of the Indiana State Seminary.

When the seminary opened, Hall became its principal and only professor, charged with teaching of Greek and Latin to a handful of young men. He remained the seminary's sole teacher until 1827 when John Hopkins Harney of Kentucky joined the faculty as professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. The following year the General Assembly renamed the institution Indiana College, and in 1829 Dr. Andrew Wylie became its first president. Dr. Wylie and Harney were soon combatants in a faculty "fight" which resulted in Harney's dismissal. Meanwhile Hall also became dissatisfied with Wylie's actions, resigned his position and returned East where, before his death in 1836, he continued his religious and educational interests.[163]

Under the new constitution of Indiana College and the vigorous administration of Dr. Wylie, the curriculum was considerably extended and enriched. Throughout the period there were included moral and mental philosophy, political economy, polite literature, the ancient languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry. French was added in 1835 to the department of Greek, under the teaching of Professor A. W. Ruter. A preparatory department was formally organized also with the beginning of Dr. Wylie's administration in 1829.

In 1838 another session of the legislature chartered Indiana University, as the legal and actual successor of Indiana College, with a board of twenty-one trustees for its management. Among the members of this board were such men as Governor Wallace (*ex officio*), Isaac Blackford, Jesse L. Holman, Robert Dale Owen, Richard W. Thompson, Hiram A. Hunter, Samuel K. Kashour, and others. The board was made self-perpetuating, but in 1841 the number of trustees was reduced to nine, no two of whom might be from the same county. Students were exempted from road taxes and militia duty, and civil courts were deprived of jurisdiction over trivial breaches of the peace within the college grounds. Ten years afterward the university board was reduced to eight members, who after 1855 were chosen by the State Board of Education. Except for Monroe, no two could be from the same county.

Upon the reorganization of the institution in 1838 as a university,

[163] Baynard Rush Hall, "The New Purchase: Or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West" (edited by Donald F. Carmony and Herman J. Viola) *Indiana Magazine of History*, 42:2 (June, 1966), p. 101.

the subjects of instruction were made to include law and medicine. But the former was not given a department until 1842 and the latter only after thirty-three years. The medical school was the Indiana Medical College at Indianapolis, adopted by the university, having a nominal connection only with it and no control. The law school was contemplated directly upon the organization of the college in 1828, and from its opening in 1842 to its abandonment in 1877 it was one of the most successful departments, graduating three hundred and thirty-six students against three hundred and sixty-four sent out from the college of liberal arts for the same period.

By the legislature of 1852 the trustees were ordered "to establish a normal department for the instruction in the theory and practice of teaching," which was done, and the school kept open until 1857. The direction was equally mandatory upon the board to establish an agricultural department, but nothing seems to have been accomplished in this direction and no very vigorous effort made prior to 1865 when Dr. Nutt and friends of the university sought to have the congressional grant of 1862 for agricultural and mechanical training conferred upon Indiana University. By the donation of Mr. Purdue, the federal grant was diverted to Lafayette for a separate institution.[166]

Indiana University has had eleven presidents; Dr. Andrew Wylie served the institution twenty-two years, longer than any president excepting William Lowe Bryan and Herman G. Wells. Revolutionary changes have taken place in higher education since Wylie's day, but it is possible to look back more than a hundred years and clearly identify four main areas in which Wylie made distinct contributions in the development of the university. He established the college curriculum which has been changed and modified during the intervening years but which is still the basic curriculum of the present College of Arts and Sciences; he introduced a form of government which was progressive, as well as realistic, and which led to unusually harmonious student-faculty relations; he was the most articulate spokesman and publicist for higher education in the state for a period of twenty-two years; and he was a successful defender of the university against eccentric forces that threatened to weaken or dismember it in the early days.

Wylie's first official act after his inauguration, October 29, 1829, was to make provisions for a complete curriculum of studies leading to the collegiate degree. The students were instructed as a class. All the men who entered in a given year were expected to graduate together four years hence. Such a class formed not only a social unit, with ensuing lasting friendships which led to class solidarity, but offered a compact instructional unit. Students pursued one principal study until it was completed. The first year and one-half was devoted to Greek and Latin; the next year and one-half, mathematics, pure and applied, was studied. During the senior year the class was instructed by President Wylie in the speculative

[166] Richard C. Boone, *op. cit.*, pp. 355-7.

philosophies, evidences of Christianity, constitutional law, political economy, and literary criticism. Wylie's explanation for this method of instruction appeared in the catalogue of 1831-32: "This method has been adopted by the President under the full conviction, founded on twenty years observation and experience, that it possesses many and decided advantages over that, which is pursued in most colleges, of blending together a variety of studies."

The college curriculum was designed to furnish a solid, comprehensive, and literate background for students entering professions. Wylie explained it in these words:

> The course prescribed embraces those subjects only which ought to be understood by everyone who claims at a liberal education. The principles of science and literature are the common basis of all higher intellectual attainments. . . . The object is, not to teach what is peculiar to any of the professions, but to lay a foundation which is common to all.[165]

All witnesses agree that Wylie was a superior teacher. His method of conducting his classes seems, at this vantage point, to have been far in advance of many of his contemporaries. Well into the nineteenth century instruction meant recitation. The recitation consisted in an exchange between the teacher and the student, the teacher citing, usually from a textbook, and the student reciting. The system taxed the memory of the student but little else. Wylie lectured, the students recited, and free discussions were held in his classrooms. The President summarized his views on teaching:

> The time was, when the teacher's business, so far as instruction was concerned, was in his view accomplished when he could support his position by the authority of textbooks, grammars and lexicons. That time is past. It is, at length, discovered that an opinion is not necessarily true because it is found *in print*. The teacher must go beyond *the book* now or fall into the rear. He must be able to show his tyro [beginner], whom he is conducting along the path of science, those avenues that open a view on either side into far distant regions of enquiry; and, if classical literature is his subject he must penetrate beyond the mere forms of the language into the spirit of the author . . . he must know how to call into exercise every latent faculty in the mind of his pupil.[166]

There is evidence to prove that Wylie was exacting with his faculty. He demanded quality teaching from them and would not tolerate indolence and sloppy methods in the classroom. Ebenezer N. Elliott related that the President was once so upset at the lack of preparation in the professor of Greek of his senior class that he deprived the professor of Greek of his classes and taught the students himself.[167]

[165] *Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Indiana University*, 1840-41, pp. 11-12.

[166] "Lecture on College Government," Transaction of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute, pp. 155-56.

[167] Letter of Judge David D. Banta to James Albert Woodburn, November 28, 1890.

In American colleges preceding the Civil War, student riots and brawls were fairly common. Some of these were of a most serious nature, resulting in bodily injury, sometimes death, and the destruction of college and town property. These riots were, in part, a dramatic and explosive response to the disciplinary system which ruled the students in many colleges. Government in those days meant rigorous control of student conduct both in and out of the classes. Many colleges had erected an iron-clad system of petty rules which their young charges were expected to obey. Such things as promptness, dress, idling, and fishing were regulated; dancing, gambling, swearing, smoking, and drinking were prohibited. Elaborate punishments were devised for offenders or violators of these rules and prohibitions.

Wylie's theory of student government was realistic and humane. Students were treated as young adults. He referred to his mode of governments as:

> Paternal, analogous to that which every wise and affectionate father exercises over his children. It seeks to establish its authority over the governed, not by a system of minute and paltry rules, which require the exercise of an espionage, as vexatious to the governors as it can be to the governed, but by addressing itself to the rational and moral faculties of the latter, and to their sense of honor, their interests and their social affections and sympathies. . . . The course pursued should be so pursued and managed in all its details of operation, as to show plainly that it proceeds not from authority merely, but from reason and a sense of duty on the part of the teacher. . . .[168]

Wylie thought his system would ultimately replace the older system of multiplicity of rules in college. The strict rules were ultimately replaced by a more sensible system throughout the country. Just how much his Indiana system influenced this development is unknown. It was effective at home. There is no record of a riot or a near riot in the university annals. At times Wylie's colleagues and some Bloomington citizens felt that the President was overly lenient with students. There is a record of three students engaging in fisticuffs and being suspended from classes for one day for this extracurricular activity. Some thought they should have been expelled from the university.

Wylie was the first man in the state to speak, write, and publish extensively on educational matters. The volume of his writing will never be known for many articles on educational and literary topics were published in newspapers and periodicals, copies of which no longer exist. A recent published bibliography of Indiana imprints through 1853 lists twenty-nine publications from his pen between 1829 and 1851 that have survived the ravages of time.[169] It can be said, without controversy, that his writings did more for higher education in the state and region, and incidentally for education at the lower levels, than those of any other man

[168] "Lecture on College Government," Transactions of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute, pp. 143ff.

[169] Byrd-Peckham, *Bibliography of Indiana Imprints, 1804-1853*.

of the period. He traveled over the state when opportunity arose, speaking in school, church or courthouse on educational topics. In address after address he explained the necessity of education in a free society. Some of his addresses as we read them today may seem commonplace, containing thoughts and ideas about educational matters that we accept today and take for granted. But let it be remembered that the numbers in the state who believed in higher education in Wylie's day were few. He, more than any other man, is responsible for the established tradition of state-supported higher education in Indiana today. These words from his inaugural address of 1820 (*Of What Advantage is a College to the Community*) are as true today as they were when delivered:

> An ignorant people cannot long be free. . . . A people who undertake to maintain their liberties, without fostering institutions of learning, undertake to make war against those laws which the Governor of the universe has fixed for the management of his dominion. . . .[179]

[179] Byrd-Peckham, *ibid.*, p. 22.

CHAPTER VII

DR. ANDREW WYLIE

Andrew Wylie was born April 12, 1789, on a farm in Washington County, Pennsylvania. His father was an Irish immigrant who came to this country about 1776. His mother was a native of Pennsylvania and must have been a remarkably alert woman for it was she who encouraged Andrew's education from childhood. As a youth, he labored on the family farm and attended common schools when he could be spared from farm work. At age fifteen he entered an academy at Washington, Pennsylvania, and, after preparatory courses, entered Jefferson College at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania. In college he helped defray his expenses by tutoring. He graduated in 1810, age 21, first in his class.

Upon graduation he was appointed tutor in Jefferson College. In 1812 he was elected president of that institution and the same year ordained a minister in the Presbyterian Church. In 1816 he resigned from Jefferson College to accept the presidency of Washington College, hoping that the two neighboring schools would consolidate. His failure to accomplish the union of the two schools may have been a deciding factor in his acceptance of the Indiana presidency.

Andrew Wylie knew George Washington. The first president owned much real estate in the section along Chartiers River where Andrew lived. Washington came from Mt. Vernon from time to time to walk and ride about his Pennsylvania acres; in charge of them he placed his close friend, Craig Ritchie, a Scotsman who knew how to manage land. As the general and national leader visited the Ritchie home he found time to speak with the brood of Ritchie children and their friends from nearby homes. Margaret Ritchie saw to it that her constant playmate and husband-to-be, Andrew Wylie, was one of those who gathered at the fireside and at the bounteous table when the distinguished man visited. Bright-eyed and alert, Andrew Wylie was always to remember that contact.

Wylie married Margaret Ritchie of Cannonsburg in 1813. From this marriage twelve children were born, seven boys and five girls. The last three children were born in Bloomington. Six of the seven sons graduated from Indiana University. From a few family letters in possession of descendents, President Wylie is revealed as a kindly, tolerant father devoted to his family and family life.

Now let his own contemporaries speak of President Wylie; some of those who knew him as students or were associated with him in an official capacity in the university have left a brief, tantalizing sketch of the man. Matthew Monroe Campbell who was a student at the College, graduating in 1836, and for a time in charge of the Preparatory Department, wrote in 1882 as follows:

> Dr. Wylie was quite as well-informed and Handsome as Hall and 3 or 4 inches taller, very near 6 feet, a grand man both in person and in carriage. He walked with a staff and he handled all 3 legs handsomely, except when he *ran*. It was always amusing to the students to see him run as they seldom did. And yet if late . . . he would break into a dog-trot if not into a downright race against time whenever the last bell began to ring ere he reached the college grounds.[171]

Theophilus Parvin, a graduate of 1847, a famous physician and professor of medicine in Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, has left a fuller description:

> Behold him as he is returning from the University, about twelve of the clock, or some hot summer day. Both in material and mode of dress, he regards comfort more than fashion. That brown linen coat spreads airily as crinoline; that leghorn hat, beneath whose ample brim a breath of wind occasionaly steals to play with silver locks, peradventure has seen service for several summers; his form is large and well proportioned, a little too heavy for any surprising agility, but therein dwells a "power of strength;" his shoulders are somewhat bent as only those of thinkers are bent; that is a broad and noble brow, the domain of high Thought; nor does the countenance indicate any lack of firmness; its possessor is immovable as the everlasting hills, when he believes himself right. There is a bluff independence in his look and manner; you can neither bribe nor terrify such a man, ten chances to one a part of a stalk of bluegrass or timothy projects from his mouth; an occasional twinkle in his eye and the flexibility of the muscles at the angles of the mouth show that he enjoys quiet, aye, and for that matter, noisy fun, most heartily. . . .[172]

James A. Cooper, who attended the University from 1845-1847, wrote his impressions of the President:

> He was a stocky man, about six feet tall, weighing perhaps a little more than two hundred pounds. He was a handsome man, with light blue eyes that flashed under excitement. Everything about him expressed intelligence and rare humor. He was a man of very liberal and democratic ideas, although he impressed one differently, for he was very aristocratic in appearance; also very deliberate in making conclusions, but when he expressed an opinion it always carried weight with it. He was very versatile, and was interested in activities in life entirely remote from school life.[173]

Theophilus A. Wylie, a cousin of the President and member of the faculty for forty-nine years wrote:

> Very different estimates have been put on the character of Dr. Wylie. He had many strong friends, and there were also some bitterly opposed to him. . . . There was sometimes, however, an apparent want of civility, a brusk manner, which doubtless was the cause of some bad feeling toward him. . . . This arose from a trait of character often found with deep thinkers, when they have some subject of study constantly before their minds. Dr.

[171] Letter to Judge Banta, Topeka, Kansas, December 12, 1882.
[172] Address on the Life and Character of Andrew Wylie, D.D., p. 16.
[173] "Memoirs of Indiana University, 1845-47," *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly*, IV, (October, 1917), p. 529.

> Wylie, when in this mood, hardly noticed anyone; he would brush past his nearest friends, even his wife and daughters, without recognizing them.[174]

George Grover Wright, a graduate of 1839, later professor of law at the University of Iowa and U.S. Senator from Iowa wrote:

> Dr. Wylie was the personification, to my youthful mind of dignity, learning and power. He was dogmatic, dictatorial, as occasion demanded and yet readily unbent and was wonderfully genial and jolly in classroom. Loved his quid, and would use it during recitation.[175]

Compounded these sketches reveal a man firmly constructed, not overly particular in dress, who had friends and some critical acquaintances, was meditative to the exclusion of his surroundings, had a visible sense of humor, and was conversely thought democratic, dictatorial, and dogmatic. There are contradictions in the impression these writers had of President Wylie. He possessed all the characteristics described but the portions of the attributes were so balanced that he had what the sidewalk psychologist refers to as "wholesome personality."

When Wylie came to Bloomington to assume direction of the College it consisted of one brick building of two stories, sixty by thirty-one feet, containing six rooms. This building erected during the years 1823-24, cost $2,400 and was used for all College functions. There was also a brick dwelling house thirty by eighteen, containing four rooms with a kitchen attached, which was used as a residence for Professor Hall. Construction on another brick dwelling, seventy-five by fifty feet, of three stories had been started in 1828 but the structure was not complete when Wylie arrived. There was no scientific equipment of any description, if two globes, one terrestial and the other celestial can be exempted. A library of 235 volumes consisting of books devoted to history, geography, literature, chemistry, and mental and moral philosophy existed through the efforts of president-elect Wylie who had taken a "begging tour" in Pennsylvania and New York before coming to Bloomington and had been successful in raising money for books.

The state universities in the western states owe their beginnings, in part, to the discerning leadership of the New England emigrants who first settled in that part of the Old Northwest Territory which became the state of Ohio. The educational ideals of these latter-day Puritans started the movement; extensive Congressional grants of public lands, two townships for the endowment of a university, were the most important and decisive stimuli. Beginning with Ohio every new state west of the Appalachians was granted lands from the public domain for a university. By 1857 the federal government had given 4,000,000 acres to fifteen states for institutions of higher learning. To qualify the states were required by the enabling acts which admitted them into the Union to make provisions

[174] T. A. Wylie, *Indiana University, its History from 1820, When Founded, to 1890, . . .*, pp. 92-83.

[175] Letter to Judge Banta from Des Moines, Iowa, undated, but about 1880.

in their constitutions guaranteeing that these lands would be used only for educational purposes.

In Wylie's early regime Indiana College was financed by proceeds from rental of seminary land, interest on the funds accumulated from sale of lands, and the income from student fees. Throughout Wylie's administration there never was a direct appropriation from the General Assembly for operation of the College and University.[17a]

The four letters which follow are personal and family letters from the pen of Dr. Andrew Wylie contributed by Mrs. Thana Wylie, Bloomington, Indiana, who permitted the letters to be xeroxed for the Lilly Library, Indiana University, and also to the Indiana University Archives. They, along with a number of similar letters already in the archives, are an important source of information concerning Dr. Andrew Wylie and the beginnings of Indiana University.

Wylie's letter to his wife Margaret was written in 1835, while she was visiting in Canonsburg, western Pennsylvania, where they had lived before he became president of Indiana College as it was known from 1828 to 1838. It alludes to difficulties in the construction of "the building," presumably the residence now known as Wylie House which was erected during the 1830's. In a very human way it evidences Andrew Wylie's concern for his wife, how much she was missed, and the problem of managing household and family affairs in her long absence. It also pictures some of the common perils and hardships of travel in pioneer days. Moreover, the letter to Mrs. Wylie, like those to sons Craig and Sam, reveals the considerable hold which religious faith and views had on Dr. Wylie.

The three remaining letters from President Wylie to his sons Craig and Sam suggest much regarding the mingled hopes, doubts, aspirations, and frustrations, the promises and setbacks which he faced as president of Indiana University, but he also did some of the teaching and spent much time ironing out thorny problems with trustees, placating legislators, and giving addresses at meetings of importance. Within the institution there was frequent turmoil among faculty members, between the professors and students, and in relations between town and gown. Faced with a multiplicity of duties, Wylie, as the letters amply illustrate, was vulnerable to attack on several fronts. These three letters also indicate an abiding paternal interest in what his sons were doing and in the kind of men he hoped they would become. His comments to Sam about health and exercise now seem a bit amusing; but they, and his emphasis on the even greater importance of the "health of the soul," indicate a father's deep concern for his children.

Bloomington, June 24th 1835

My Dear Margaret.

Through the great goodness of God our lives and health are still preserved.

[17a] Herman G. Wells, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 120-121, *passim*.

Last week we received your letter by Eliza which gave us the very welcome account of your safe arrival at Wheeling and of the welfare of our friends generally. It is here, as yet, a time of general health: though we have had almost incessant rains and tremendous floods since within a few days after you left us till this week which has been fair. But now it thunders, the sky is overcast and we expect rain again. Mrs. Nichols departed this life last Monday week. This was, you know, not an unexpected event. You would, doubtless, like to know how we make out to get along without you. And I am afraid and almost ashamed to tell. The amount of it is we do the best we can, and that is bad enough. We have Nancy Swift, without whose assistance we could not get along at all. In the house things are broken and lost at a sad rate. The building is at a stand. I am distracted and ready to sink under the burden of so many cares. I wish a thousand times every hour that you were safe at home with us. I feel lost and miserable without you and am so much reduced in flesh and spirits that you would hardly know me. I count the hours as months till you return. I say not this to urge your return. For I tremble to think of the danger by the way. The cholera as you have, no doubt, heard, has lately broken out with fatal violence at Madison, where as many as from 12 to 20 have been buried in a day. And rumor says it is also at Louisville and other places along the river. I have sometimes the most melancholy foreboding. This you know is my besetting sin and I strive against it as well as I can. The death of our lamented William, presses harder on me also since you left us, so that my spirits are sometimes quite sunk. Then "I chide my heart that sinks so low" and look around to count the many and unmerited blessings which Our Heavenly Father—blessed be His Holy Name!—still allows us to enjoy—and then again I reproach myself with ingratitude and unprofitableness. Thus wretchedly do I waste my life and strength. Most fervently do I pray, and try to hope, that your life may be preserved, and that you may be kept in health and peace and restored to us once more. But I know and feel the time will be long. For I cannot think of advising you to come so long as the cholera continues on the river: and to come through in the stage as I did last year would be *for you*, out of the question, unless you had some kind and intimate friend for a protector. Even then, I should hardly advise it, for the road, unless greatly improved since last year, is, towards this end of it, scarcely passible. So that, on the whole, I must try and content myself the best way I can, till frost comes in the fall, when, if you live, you can descend the river without danger of cholera. But what shall take place, or what shall become of us before that time, God only knows. Our duty, in the mean time, is meekly to resign ourselves to His most holy will, making it our great and main concern to commit the keeping of our souls to Him, in well doing as to a merciful Creator, seeking His face and favor with our whole hearts and encouraging ourselves in the cheerful hope, that whenever and by whatever "our earthly house of this tabernacle may be dissolved we may have a building of God an house not made with hands eternal in the heavens." There, my dear Margaret, might it please our gracious God, that you and I and all our dear children should meet at last—after all our crosses, trials, and sorrows in this short life—O the transporting thought! It is too much—my unbelieving heart will not let me entertain it. This—boundless mercy and grace grant us this great and amazing blessing for Christ's sake Amen! Amen! Amen! O were His Amen to it, how would my burdened soul bound, exult and triumph. Well, let me say, "They will be done!" But I have something to do for the attainment of this end! O what responsibility!—I never yet in all my life engaged in anything with so little spirit as this *building;* and nothing to which I ever put my hands dragged so heavily. But yet it seems to have been forced upon me by necessity. Things, too, seem to go against ---------- in the undertaking. At this moment the rain descends in

torrents. Craig, poor fellow, is, likely out in it; for he went with the waggon, generally. It is here, as yet, a time of general health: though we have had this morning to the mill, for boards to cover a lime kiln which the rains have nearly spoiled. Three days ago, John went a blackberry-gathering on the old mare without my knowledge. The mare threw him and only came home this morning. Yesterday the luckless fellow (John) fell off the sawpit and hurt his head against a log. He is well enough now; but I was badly frightened for a while lest he had sustained some serious or perhaps fatal injury. I see, from these escapes, how easy it would be, did a guardian Providence intermit his care, for us to have sorrow upon sorrow. How thankful should we be for safety, health, *reason* and all God's other precious gifts and mercies!—Anderson continues to enjoy good health. If the weather permitted him to be taken out, he would not be anything the loser by his weaning.

All join me in love to you and all our friends.

Your ever loving and affectionate husband,
Andrew Wylie

Mrs. Wylie
P.S. Should the cholera cease, and good company offer and should you *wish so to do*, we, particularly I, would be *very, very* desirous how soon you could get away from dear friends, at Canonsburg and Wheeling to meet once more a dearer friend in his miserable Bloomington.
Yours as ever A.W.

N.B. Should any of our married ladies be disposed to make themselves merry and witty at my expense, now that I am left in the sad predicament of a lonely lover whose dearest jewel is so far away, you can tell them—I trust from your own experience—but I know not how that may be?—that 20 years acquaintanceship in the marriage life makes the parties, if they love each other, only the more necessary to their mutual happiness. A.W.
So with one thing and another, I have let my pen run on till my space is all filled. Remember me specially to our dear mother.

Bloomington July 1st 1840

Dr. Craig

If you get but few letters from us, do not think we forget you but only that we are busy. I am particularly so. Dodds and Mary have come back from Spencer to which they had removed—not being pleased with things and prospects there. Mary is still in ill-health. They talk of going up to Pennsylvania. If they go, for it is yet doubtful, Elizth will probably go with them.

As to the University I cannot say very confidently. Ammen proves to be a most efficient teacher.[177] If Morrison who will be here in the fall should do his part as well the faculty will be second to none this side of Yale.[178] Foster seems to be sunk—though not so low as he ought and would were the community high toned in their feelings—he introduced among his charges

[177] Jacob Ammen, a graduate of West Point, was a professor of mathematics at Indiana University, 1840-1843. He also directed the students in military drill; but this practice, begun under him, was discontinued upon his departure from the university. James Albert Woodburn, *History of Indiana University*, 1820-1920, Vol I (Chicago, 1940), pp. 166-68, 257, 284.

[178] John I. Morrison was professor of languages at Indiana University 1840-43. In the latter year he resigned to become principal of a seminary at Salem, Indiana. As a member of the Indiana Constitutional Convention, 1850-1851 and in other ways as well, Morrison made significant contributions to the university. Woodburn, *History of Indiana University*, I, 121, 173-74, 257.

one too atrocious to mention; it related to William and aimed at fixing a black stain on his memory.[179] Bennet was summoned to prove the unutterable thing—but did not give testimony; the committee having resolved to adjourn to meet again the week before the meeting of the Board. In this matter my patience has been severely tryed and I have need to pray "lead me not into temptation"—that of doing to Foster, for my own sake I ought not.

I received letters from Columbia Mo. from which as well as from other sources I *suppose* that they will elect me to the presidency of the University to be established there. But I do not much fancy the idea of another removal —especially westward. There are many signs of the tide turning in my favor in this state. But there is no dependence to be put in what we call tides of popular favor—nor, indeed, in man in any shape.

I find it difficult to get money—so, if my pamphlets are sold, I wish you to take the money and with it pay Fetter. I hope to be able shortly to pay him off intirely. Mary's journey will cost me something, and there are many ways to take away, and but one to bring in money. You will have to be frugal and depend on yourself chiefly.—We expect to recive the Equator shortly under better auspices I trust. A periodical is I think indispensible to to us.—The family are in tolerably good health. John has had a slight chill which seems what the Irish people call ----------, Dr. Leatherman wrote me lately. He still has some notion of removing to Missouri.

Give my best respects to Mr. and Mrs. Miller and Bayless and family. Shew respect to the latter they have always been our friends. Of the former I need say nothing. Render yourself as useful as you can; shun vice and the vicious, cultivate virtues and piety. Study the Bible and pray to God to direct you in all your ways. "Trust the Lord and be doing good; so shalt thou dwell in the land and verily thou shalt be fed."

Your affte father
A Wylie

Bloomington July 1st 1846

Dear Son.

I am happy to find that you have good sense enough to shew you the propriety of writing home without having been particularly charged to do so;—and that you seem to have managed other little affairs with a "quantum stuff" of discretion.

I shall have your books and things sent by Woodwards waggon to care of B. O. Davis. It starts on monday next.

I am in a hurry preparing to go to convention. John goes with me to Indianapolis (where it meets) and thence on to Richmond. He seems to be still getting better, but his constitution has received a severe shock and it will be long yet before he recovers—if ever.

You will be in danger of a thousand things from which no care of mine—nor your own, nor any other mortal can preserve you. Think of this.

As to health: you must take exercise every day and keep the pores clean by *sweating;* washing is good; but it acts on the end of the tube: whereas the *sweat* goes through and cleanses out the whole channel.

But health is not the chief thing, important as it is. You may rise early—take the morning air, avoid late hours and hard eating and drinking and all other things which tend to disease and yet you may get into ways which

[179] The persistent and vigorous opposition of Dr. William C. Foster, a Bloomington physician, to Dr. Wylie is noted in Woodburn, *History of Indiana University*, I, pp. 119-20. The remarks about Foster are from an historical sketch by Judge David D. Banta which constitutes the first several chapters of the Woodburn history.

are not good, as to the health of the Soul. Put it down in your inmost thoughts that all those things are evil and will prove so in the end which tend to make one forget God.

You will do well to remember that you are poor; have no fortune in prospect and that the people among [whom] you live being wealthy you may not imitate their expensive habits. Be plain and decent in your dress; this is enough to please sensible people, and the less you follow such as are not so the better.

What remains of the price of the mare—having paid for the Cornsheller—consider as yours; but the other is yours only *to use* till you come home. Being in a slave-state I suppose you cannot readily get the privilege of working enough for exercise. If so, you must ride.

God bless and guide you in the right way.

Your affct father
A Wylie

Mr. S. Wylie

Bloomington Feb. 21st, 1847

Dear Sam.

Lest you should think yourself forgotten, I fill up an interval by writing to you. Your mother is still in bad, very bad health, chills and fever with regular irregularity sometimes very violent. We have no girl. Poor 'Liz is our only dependence. She is a heroine. But I am sorry she is so oppressed. We have two boarders Charles West and Chris. Graham good boys enough, but in a month or so they will leave and then no more of that. New Years night Dodds had a party the Faculty all at it but myself. I was sick. Williams and Trimble members of the Senior class and leaders of the Philomathian Society organized the Society that night as a band of Chivareers—they blackened themselves etc., and cut up capers around Dodds's house; in short the Faculty, finding Williams and Trimble to have been in the affair called them to account.[180] The Faculty demanded an apology. But the Faculty agreed to accept it with the fest and ordered me to dispose of the case with remarks on the impropriety of such conduct. I did so. Williams and Trimble, offended because the remarks were not postponed till some distant period when they might not be thought of in connexion with said remarks, demanded an honorable dismission. It was not granted. They aided by Millan and some others of the Law Department, threw the Philomaths into a phrenzy. They passed certain resolutions censuring the Faculty and giving Diplomas to Williams and Trimble who went out of town with the mob shouting for Greencastle! So the thing ended. But the end is not yet. Of course, I will be made the butt, at which shafts from all who for any reason may think it the time to join in, will be aimed. Of course, too, the sectarian opposition will take advantage of it and at the next meeting of the Legislature I expect a scheme for some time in agitation will be pushed into execution if possible to divide the funds of the University among the leading Sects.[181]-------There is no telling what the event may be. The students

[180] The Philomathean Society was one of the various societies which played an important part in the early decades of the university's development. As here indicated, however, not all of their activities were literary. Woodburn, *History of* Indiana University, I, pp. 77, 201-202, 230-31, 303-304, 316-17.

[181] Continued charges claimed that Indiana University was sectarian, often insisting that Presbyterian influence was dominant. Woodburn, *History of Indiana* University, I, pp. 21, 29-30, 32-3, 73-6, 211-216, 251-52, 265, 263, 374. As these references indicate both David D. Banta and James Albert Woodburn defended, perhaps more vigorously than warranted the university against the charge of sectarianism.

are quit now; but there is in some of them a bad spirit.

From 'Mag. and 'Rene I hear almost every week. Margaret thinks she can learn nothing, and, of course, will not learn much. Irene learns well; but has gone to balls, a thing [of?] which I do not approve.

From John I hear nothing lately.

The rest join in love to you. You like not your present occupation. I'd rather clean streets like a scavenger than be a dirty pettifogging puppy such as some of these in our Law School will be if they live.

Be an honest man at any rate; be a Christian and then in the end you will find what in this world you will not find—peace and happiness.

Your affte father
A Wylie

Dr. Andrew Wylie was a strong advocate of physical exercise. His favorite recreation was with the ax, the felling of trees and chopping wood. A week before his death while exercising in the woods remote from his house he accidentally cut his foot with the resulting loss of much blood. He continued his duties on crutches but a few days later was stricken with pneumonia and died November 11, 1851.[182]

[182] "Family Letters of Andrew Wylie, President of Indiana University," (edited by Donald F. Carmony and contributed by Mrs. Thana Wylie) *Indiana Magazine of History*, 44:4 (December, 1968), pp. 289-298.

CHAPTER VIII

OHIO UNIVERSITY (1804-1839)

In Ohio the establishment of secondary schools and colleges was facilitated by the foresight and business acumen of the promoters of the Ohio Company.[183] Land grants for educational purposes were not new in 1785, and the Land Ordinance of May 20 of that year isolated section 16 in each township of the Northwest Territory for the maintenance of public schools. In consequence of this act, the allotting of one thirty-sixth of the public land for school purposes became a national policy.[184] This act made no provisions for higher education, however. When Manasseh Cutler insisted that two townships be added to the purchase of the Ohio Company for the use of a university, and obtained the grant, it became the first endowment of land for higher education made by the National Government.[185] Cutler's plan for the establishment of a university in the Ohio Purchase bore some fruit in December, 1799, when the territorial legislature requested Rufus Putnam to make surveys to that end in the townships of Washington County provided for that purpose. Putnam, who was not a college man, plotted the townships and the town of Athens; and when the territorial legislature, in January, 1802, granted a charter for a school to be called American Western University, he became president of the Board of Trustees.[186] Putnam thus became the real founder of the institution. Nothing was done, however, under the first charter. Ohio became a state in 1803, and the second legislature, on February 18, 1804, passed an act establishing a university at Athens, naming it Ohio University. The roll of trustees identifies the eastern influences at work: Putnam, from Marietta; Governor Edward Tiffin, born in England, a preacher in the Methodist Church, and a graduate in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania; Judge Elijah Backus, a graduate of Yale, and editor of the *Ohio Gazette and Territorial and Virginia Herald;* Judge Dudley Woodbridge, also of Yale; the Reverend Daniel Story, a graduate of Dartmouth and the man selected by Cutler as the first minister and teacher in the colony; the

[183] Ephriam C. Dawes, "The Beginning of the Ohio Company and the Scioto Purchase," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications,* IV (1892-1896), p. 7.

[184] Clement L. Martzolff, "Land Grants for Education in the Ohio Valley States," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Publications,* XXV (1916), p. 67.

[185] Henceforth the establishment of such institutions placed a less severe burden upon the initiative of individuals and groups. By 1820, Ohio had established four institutions of collegiate rank: Ohio University, Miami University, Cincinnati University, and Worthington College.

[186] Edward A. Miller, "The History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803-1850," *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society Publications,* XXVII (1918), pp. 97-117.

Reverend James Kilbourne, and Samuel Carpenter. But the leasing of lands was slow, the income inadequate, and it was not until 1808 that an academic department was organized. In that year, Putnam succeeded in getting Jacob Lindly, the Presbyterian minister of Waterford, Ohio, transferred to Athens to become preceptor of the academy.

Jacob Lindly was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1774. He was educated at Jefferson College and the College of New Jersey (Princeton). In 1800 he was ordained a Presbyterian minister. In 1803 he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Waterford, a small village on the Muskingum, and in 1805 he was appointed a university trustee. After his long service at Ohio University (he was president until 1822) he served as pastor of churches in Ohio, Virginia, and Mississippi. His salary as preceptor and as president *pro tempore* of the board was five hundred dollars.[187]

When Lindly took charge of the academy, he served as a teacher to three students. Since these students were not prepared for college work, the curriculum was on the preparatory school level with courses in arithmetic, grammar, Latin, Greek, geography, mathematics, logic, rhetoric, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy. Not until 1819 were courses of the college level offered. The first three students and those who joined them in succeeding years paid no tuition as such but were required to pay a two-dollar fee each quarter for "firewood and other contingent and necessary expenses." Further, they were required to recite six days each week, to be examined quarterly by the trustees, and to appear once a year in public exhibition. In May, 1809, Lindly suggested a set of rules and regulations for his school. Recalling the disciplinary code of his alma mater, the preceptor recommended that the trustees adopt the 1802 rules of the "College of New Jersey so far as they are applicable." The trustees accepted this recommendation at their meeting on May 17, 1810.

Since the trustees were eager to begin university training, they attempted to establish requirements for the bachelor of arts degree, apparently in hopeful anticipation that qualified students might appear. The degree was to be granted when students "shall have more adequate proficiency in Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Xenophon, Homer, the Greek Testament, Geography, Logic, Arithmetic, Algebra, Surveying, Navigation, Conic Sections, Natural Philosophy, the general principles of History, Jurisprudence, English Grammar, Rhetoric, Belles Lettres, and Criticism."

Enrollment grew slowly during these first years. In 1812 there were fourteen students in attendance. Most of them were young, some apparently less than twelve years of age. Lindly received teaching assistance in 1814 from Artemus Sawyer, a Harvard graduate and a young Athens attorney.

In 1814 the trustees adopted a second list of rules for the academy. Students under twelve were required to have permission from the president

[187] Thomas N. Hoover, *The History of Ohio University*, Athens: Ohio University Press (1954), p. 25.

to use books or take them from the library. Fines for damaging books ranged from six and a quarter cents to the value of the book. Students were permitted to take only one book at a time, and no book was to be used "without being previously covered with a wrapping of paper." If a student lent a library book to another student, a fine of fifty cents was imposed. All fines received were used for the purchase of books.

The chief qualification for the admission of students, fixed in 1814, was a knowledge of reading, writing, and some common arithmetic. Each student was required to remain at least three months as a member of the institution unless expelled earlier for misconduct. Students were required to make good any property destroyed by them.

Although the university charter required that all students be examined quarterly in public examinations by the trustees, the first record of such an examination is found in *The Fredonian*, a Chillicothe newspaper, of August 25, 1812, which reported that: "During the last meeting of the Board, the students acquitted themselves with credit in the examination of Latin and Greek languages, in Geography, Rhetoric, English Grammar and Arithmetic."

Thomas Ewing and John Hunter, the first candidates for collegiate degrees, appeared before a trustees' committee on May 3, 1815, to be examined in "Grammar, Rhetoric, the Languages, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Geography, Astronomy, and various branches of mathematics." These first graduates, it must be noted, received their degrees from the academy or the "Seminary," as it was called then, not from the university, and their diplomas were not awarded at formal commencement exercises. The following September the board decided that Ewing and Hunter should receive the Bachelor of Arts degree at a proper commencement. But not until September 24, 1816, a year later, was a suitable diploma form approved; properly inscribed diplomas were sent to the first graduates.

The limited accommodations of the academy building contributed to the school's tardy development into the university so steadfastly sought by its founders. In 1800, when planning for the university, Manasseh Cutler had predicted that it would be difficult to secure students of college level in a pioneer region, and Putnam had predicted that it would be difficult to erect buildings for such students as could be found. Both were essentially correct. The academy students of those first years were not qualified college students; indeed, some of them had not had previous formal education. Two small rooms and one instructor were hardly ample to accommodate more than a handful of students. Because of this, the trustees, at the meeting of March, 1812, appointed Putnam, Seth Adams, and Perkins to prepare plans for a college building, but not until September 26, 1815, did the committee submit a plan drawn up by Putnam. The trustees approved it and appointed a committee of Lindly, Perkins, and John L. Lewis to contract for the brick, stone, and timber for the building. In order to provide a suitable location the trustees sought to close College Street

from Union Street to Mulberry Street (Park Place). Trustees Thomas Worthington, then governor of Ohio, Jessup N. Couch and Elijah Hatch were selected to petition the legislature for the necessary authority and for a loan of $8,000 for the new college building. The General Assembly granted the first request on February 21, 1816, but did not authorize the loan.

The construction of the College Edifice, presently called Cutler Hall, proceeded as rapidly as the university treasury would permit. During the summer of 1816 the cornerstone was laid, but not until March, 1818, was the building committee authorized to have the roof built, the windows glazed, and the locks put on the doors. A severe storm which swept Athens on August 24, 1818, caused a delay in the completion of the building. Lightning struck the east end of the partially built Edifice, causing considerable damage; and it might have burned to the ground had not a torrential rain put out the flames. By September, 1818, the college was ready for occupancy. It had cost a little over eighteen thousand dollars.

To finance the building of the College Edifice, Putnam, Dr. Samuel P. Hildreth of Marietta, and Perkins were asked in June, 1814, to petition the legislature for "a grant of lottery to assist in building a college house of the university." On March 17, 1817, Dr. Lindly was allowed sixty dollars for expenses involved in securing the legislative authority for the lottery, and December 29, the General Assembly passed the requested measure, authorizing certain trustees, heavily bonded, to conduct a lottery to raise $20,000 "to be appropriated to defray the expense of completing the college edifice erected at Athens, and to purchase a library and suitable mathematics and philosophical apparatus for the use of the Ohio University."

Nevertheless, on May 19, 1818, the trustees abandoned the plan because "from its nature it must obviously be attended with delay and uncertainty and from the present embarrassed situation of our paper currency it is perhaps questionable whether the resort to a lottery would not at this time be inexpedient and hazardous. Even if the whole benefit contemplated in that grant were realized, much would still remain to be done by the munificence of individuals to furnish the means of a perfectly liberal education in the degree in which they are enjoyed in many of our sister states."[188]

In October, 1819, the trustees prescribed curricula for the new college and for the academy, the latter to be continued as a preparatory school. The primary object of education, they declared, was the "evolution of the intellectual and moral faculty and the formation of habit," and the three fundamental demands on their scholars were exactness, punctuality, and regular progression. Tuition charges, apparently the first to be charged, reflected the new emphasis upon the college: Academy students were to

[188] Thomas N. Hoover, *The History of Ohio University*, Athens: Ohio University Press (1954), pp. 33-35.

pay four dollars per session, and college students, six dollars. A four-year program of college studies was adopted as follows:

The Freshman Class—Lucian's Dialogues, the Georgics and Ecologues of Virgil, Sallust, the Odes and Epodes of Horace, Writing Latin exercises, Latin and Greek Prosody, English Grammar, English Composition, Declamation, Geography, Arithmetic.

Sophomore—Horace, Cicero, Xenophon, Homer's Illiad, Composition in Latin exercises, Rhetoric, English Composition, Declamation, Geometry.

Junior Class—Tacitus, Terence, Collectanea Graeca Majora, Latin and Greek Antiquities, Latin and Greek composition, English Composition, Rhetoric, Criticism, Latin and Greek History and Chronology, Moral Philosophy, Algebra, Law of Nature and Nations, Grotius et Veritate Religionis Christianae.

Senior Class—Classical department discretionary with the faculty—Natural Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Metaphysics, Logic, Astronomy, English composition, Criticism of the Best Writers, Declamation, Law of Nations and Nature.

The duties of the president were defined and his salary raised to eight hundred dollars. He was to have charge of the university, superintend the care of buildings, grounds, and property, make reports to the trustees, visit classes, preside at board meetings and commencements, sign diplomas, teach the senior class, instruct all classes in English composition, and require themes from all students every two weeks. Faculty members were required to teach five and one half days each week, exercise discipline over the students, determine the students' relative ranks, adjudge rewards and punishments, and make certain regulations for the government of the student body. Instructors were not permitted to engage in pursuits which might interfere with their university duties.[189]

Under the new program students were required to assemble at sunrise and again in the evening for prayers, after which "declamations shall be pronounced by two students in rotation." Moral or religious exercises were required each Sunday. At least twice a year the trustees reviewed themes written by the students. Students were admonished to respect the president and other officers and observe due decorum in their classes. Punishments were provided for disrespect to college authorities or indecent behavior, and, "if any student shall be guilty of profane cursing or swearing, or be concerned in any riot, or keep the company of lewd or infamous persons, or be guilty of gambling or any other known immorality, he shall be punished according to the offense." A trustee ruling of April 17, 1820, set maximum weekly rates which could be charged by townspeople for living accommodations, providing that the cost of board alone could not exceed $1.50; board and lodging, $2.00; and board, lodging, fuel, candles, and washing, $2.50 a week.[190]

In an attempt to raise the academic standards of the college, the trustees in September 1822, adopted a stringent set of entrance require-

[189] *Ibid.*, 33-35.
[190] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

ments. Applicants for admission thereafter had to demonstrate their knowledge of Latin grammar, Caesar's Commentaries (four books), Virgil, Cicero's *Selected Orations,* Greek grammar, Delectus, the Greek Testament, the Four Evangelists, Graeca Minora, arithmetic, and English grammar. These formidable requirements unquestionably restricted the number of prospective students to those who had prepared in the academy or in the few other academies in the area. At the same time a notable change was made which attracted students: the curriculum was expanded to include a few "scientific" courses, such as anatomy, mineralogy, botany and "chymistry." These innovations marked the first departure from the traditional classical curriculum of American colleges of that era.

The transition from academy to university was complicated by several economic problems of which the leasing of the university lands remained the most vexatious. To ease the situation the trustees, obviously using influential friends in the state legislature, were granted by law on January 23, 1807, the right to appraise land at less than $1.75 per acre so that rents on the college lands could be reduced. A year later the legislature again aided the university by enacting a measure which declared that all persons holding leases for university land henceforth would be "considered as freeholders," at liberty to buy and sell their college lands, subject always to the annual rent, or to dispose of them by will. The act of 1808 provided further that the trustees could seize and sell the goods and chattels of delinquent renters. The next year the legislature gave the trustees the power to resurvey the college lands in the best interests of the university.

The gravest and most time consuming concern of the board from 1807 to 1822 was the problem of collecting the monies due the university. Each board session dealt with petitions concerning conflicting land claims, records of rents not paid and claims not established, and reports on cases in which the trustees were forced to reenter lands or occupy debtor lands. In many cases leasees were granted indulgences relieving them of rent payments for a given period of time. To aid in collecting the rents, the trustees, after having received the legislature's authorization, agreed to accept produce in payment of rent at the following rates: hemp at $6.00 per hundred pounds; steers three years old and not overweight at $2.50 per hundred pounds, with the hide and tallow included; and barrows and spayed sows weighing alive not less than 250 pounds at $3.00 per hundred pounds. The university treasurer was impowered to sell the produce at his discretion, enabling the university to provide a small market for the produce of the leasees.

The hardships of the farmers on the college lands were more or less the same as those of other pioneers in the Ohio Valley. Most emigrants from the east came with their entire fortunes in their Conestogas and the few animals trailing beside them. It took years to get new farms carved out of the virgin forests and into production. Few of the new settlers were able to live through this period of conversion without obtaining

credit or borrowing money. Although the federal government continually eased the purchasing conditions on the public domain, approximately one-third of the land brought under the early land laws reverted to the government. The early farmers of the upper Hocking Valley had a further disadvantage in their isolation from the transportation routes to the markets. Their grain and other shipping produce generally had to be carried over rugged roads to the Ohio River, where it was transported by flatboats to New Orleans. Their livestock, destined for eastern markets, had to be driven overland to Zanesville, from which point they proceeded along Zane's Trace, the route of the National Road of the 1820's.[191]

On September 14, 1820, Dr. Lindly, stressing the burden of his university duties and his poor health, asked to be released. The Board reluctantly accepted his resignation and asked him to continue as "Presiding Instructor," and a committee was appointed to select the "most suitable character" for his successor. No action was taken to find a new president until April 12, 1822, when a report to the trustees revealed that Dr. Lindly had failed to return to the treasurer a considerable amount of tuition which had been given to him by students. The committee appointed to locate a new president, evidently spurred on by this development, declared the presidency to be vacant, and on April 13, James Irvine, professor of mathematics, was unanimously elected and accepted the position at a salary of nine hundred dollars. Lindly was then appointed professor of rhetoric and moral philosophy. In recognition of his services the trustees expressed to "the late President pro tem of the Board" their gratitude for his "most laborious and unremitted exertions."

James Irvine, second president of the university, was born in New York and attended Union College from which he was graduated in 1821. In April, 1821, he assumed his duties as professor of mathematics at Ohio University, thus establishing the university's second department. Because of poor health Irvine was unable to devote much time to his presidential duties and he resigned from the university in April, 1824, to become pastor of the Presbyterian Church, West Hebron, New York, where he died soon afterwards.

The trustees recognized the need for a larger faculty, more extensive physical equipment, and additional finances: "Our finances are in a deranged state, our treasury is exhausted, we are in debt." They declared that their work was "too important to pause. We are debtors to the rising generation. We are debtors to posterity. Under these claims we should move forward with inflexible firmness, resolved that nothing shall be wanting on our part to secure to the present and perpetuate to future generations the blessings of Education." To fulfill their resolution, they selected as the next president, Robert G. Wilson of Chillicothe.[192]

When Dr. Wilson came to Ohio University as its president the trials

[191] Archer B. Hulbert, "The Old National Road," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, IX, (1900-1901), pp. 405-519.

[192] Thomas N. Hoover, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-25, 27-34, 35-42.

of the founding period had been met, if not entirely overcome; a college and academy building had been erected; a small faculty had been hired; a modest income was assured. In spite of this the new president inherited many problems still awaiting solution, and new ones speedily developed. Financial difficulties continued to mount. The university lands had not been fully leased and failed to bring the anticipated rent, while tuition payments were low and constantly in arrears. Various income producing actions, even the outright sale of land, had been resorted to with but little success. The enrollment, fluctuating widely and unpredictably from year to year, was not a dependable source of revenue. The changing temper of the times was reflected in a growing pressure to shift emphasis from traditional classic-mathematics curriculum to something more suitable for training school teachers, merchants, lawyers, and farmers. The severity of this concentration on classical studies doubtless did much to aggravate another and more earthy problem, namely the rebellion of students which reached a crisis in 1835.

Robert G. Wilson, first vigorous leader of Ohio University affairs was inaugurated president on August 11, 1824. Born in Lincoln County, North Carolina on December 30, 1768, he attended Dickinson College and graduated in 1790. In 1794 he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Abbeville, South Carolina, and in 1804 of the Presbyterian Church at Chillicothe, Ohio, where he was also a teacher in the Chillicothe Academy. His pastor's salary of four hundred dollars was supplemented by income received as postmaster of Ohio's first capital city. After his retirement from the presidency of Ohio University in 1839, he continued in the ministry at South Salem, Ohio, until his death in 1851. Dr. Wilson had served as a trustee of Ohio University since 1809.

In addition to his presidential duties at Ohio University, Dr. Wilson was a professor of belles lettres and moral studies. Other faculty members during the middle twenties were Joseph Dana, professor of ancient languages; Jacob Lindly, professor of mathematics; Samuel D. Hoge, professor of natural science; and Henry D. Ward and A. G. Brown, preceptors of the academy. On April 14, 1825, Daniel Read was elected preceptor of the academy at a salary of five hundred dollars. Samuel Browning temporarily filled the position of Professor Samuel D. Hoge, who died during the winter of 1826-27. Thomas M. Drake, elected April 12, 1827, to the professorship of natural science, served from September of that year until his resignation in September, 1834. William Wall, who had been a teaching assistant, became professor of mathematics at a salary of six hundred dollars on April 10, 1828, when Lindly resigned to accept the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church at Walnut Hills, Ohio.

During these years faculty members had many duties outside the classroom. They were responsible for the execution of frequent trustees' orders or regulations which might touch any phase of the university's affairs from preparation of rules of discipline to the sale of land. The matter of discipline was becoming a major concern. Rioting among students

was increasing. In such circumstances the importance of the faculty was such as to move the trustees, on April 15, 1824, to elect them to honorary membership on the Board with the right to deliberate but not vote. As partial compensation for their inadequate salaries, Wilson and the professors were provided with residence lots bordering on the college g[illegible].

At President Wilson's prodding the trustees approved funds for the repairing and rearranging of the College Edifice. Also with a loan of $2,000 obtained from a bank in Lancaster, Ohio, the roof and walls of the academy building were repaired. The front part on the second floor was equipped to house the library and the rest of it was fitted for the "reception of a chemical apparatus." The front part of the third floor was prepared for such "Philosophical apparatus and mineralogical productions as might be procured," and the public well was cleaned and fitted for use. Lamps were bought and suspended in the center of the college halls and a lightning rod was procured and erected. To keep the university property in good condition and to protect it, mostly from student depredations it would appear, "an agent" was engaged. Grates and stone coal for college fireplaces were also furnished. On April 12, 1826, thirty dollars was appropriated for the division of the museum room for the "philosophical apparatus" which was expected to arrive soon. Thirty dollars was appropriated on September 17, 1828, to outfit the lower room of the academy for the accommodation of the professor and students of chemistry. Major repairs on the main building, costing $242.22 including general plastering, strengthening of the dome or cupola base, were made in the summer of 1833.

At the meeting of the board on August 2, 1823, a committee was appointed to examine the expediency of establishing a medical school and botannical garden. The committee recommended the following day that since there was no medical school in Ohio and but one west of the Alleghany Mountains, such a school might appropriately be located in Athens. According to the preliminary plan, the university was to sponsor a professor of medicine who would support himself by his own practice and received in addition twenty dollars a lecture course from each student. The president of the university was to act as head of the medical college.

The trustees set aside a large tract of land west of the college green for a medical college and botannical garden. This area was a tract located near the Hocking River and near the future location of the Hocking Canal. Although Ephraim Cutler, for thirty-three years an Ohio University trustee and its dependable lobyist in the Ohio legislature, steadfastly worked for a medical college, the continuing difficulties prevented its establishment.

The collection of the annual rents continued to trouble the university officials. During the late twenties, the annual revenue from the rents totaled between $2,700 and $2,800, but the annual default was estimated to run around $400. At the same time tuitions brought into the treasury between $1,000 and $1,200 a year. Thus, the university's income in

1828 was estimated at about $3,600, while salaries of the faculty and other university expenses were estimated at $3,850. The revenue was frequently reduced, too, since petitions for indulgences on rent and tuition payments were usually granted. The university still owed $2,000 which it borrowed from the Bank of Lancaster in 1824 to repair university property. The trustees' finance committee that year sagely commented on the university's financial condition: "Should our present amount of expenditures be continued, some ways and means must be devised to prevent the unpleasant consequences with which we are threatened."

A fluctuating enrollment added to the financial difficulties. Although enrollment reached a peak in both the college and the academy in 1829, with sixty students in the former school and twenty-eight in the junior school, a gradual decline set in thereafter. By 1832, there were only seventy-four students, forty-one in the college and thirty-three in the academy, but by April 1835, the year of a disciplinary crisis in the university, there were only thirty students. Since 1824, "charity students," usually six in the college and three in the academy, had returned no tuition income to the college. Understandably this decline in revenue from tuition became a concern of President Wilson and the trustees. Overlooking more fundamental reasons for the university's failure to attract students, Wilson tried to explain the drop in enrollment by the high cost of board. At the meeting of April 13, 1830, he spoke of the low boarding cost at Kenyon College and declared that "plainer fare" would satisfy Ohio University students. He suggested $1.25 a week as a reasonable rate. A trustees' committee was appointed to confer with boarding house proprietors of Athens in an attempt to reduce boarding expenses.

The inadequacy of the college edifice for boarding students had been revealed as early as 1828. Following Wilson's recommendation, the trustees had voted that the president should continue to rent rooms for students. They had decided further that, inasmuch as university funds were insufficient to build dormitories, Wilson and Trustee Thomas Ewing should petition the Ohio legislature and the national Congress for a donation of land to provide an additional endowment. Although the decline in enrollment in 1830 relieved this situation, the drop increased the concern of the board and a committee of the trustees set about reducing boarding costs. Not until the crisis of 1835 had passed, however, did the board move to provide suitable living conditions for the "town" students.

In April, 1832, another trustee committee, reporting at length on "the paucity of students in the institution," failed to agree on the reasons. It ruled out unusual expenses, deficiency in courses, incompetency and lack of fidelity on the part of the instructors (despite rumors to the contrary), unhealthiness of the locality, and a low state of morals. Although the committee placed part of the blame on the poor financial circumstances of the surrounding population, it recognized the seriousness of the "unwarrented rumors" concerning the lack of principles of the instructors, the want of harmony among the professors, and the negligence and

integrity of the trustees. The latter charge included the story that the trustees having a personal interest in the college lands, had defrauded the university for their own benefit. To counteract these adverse rumors, President Wilson and Trustees Hoge, Cutler and McAboy were directed by the board to publish in Ohio newspapers "an exposure of the present condition of the Ohio University particularly adverting to the rumors in circulation prejudicial to the institution and presenting the considerations calculated to rectify the public mind."

Some basis for criticism of the unhealthfulness of the Athens area may be found in the fact that several epidemics visited the university during the twenties and early thirties. A disease, unnamed, possibly undetermined, in the winter term of 1827-27 gave considerable concern to the trustees, yet they felt it "an occasional and temporary visitation and ought not to excite any apprehension respecting the future health of the students or in the least degree impair the public confidence in the healthiness of this institution." Despite this edict the sickness continued during the summer quarter and several students returned to their homes while others were unable to continue their studies. The Ohio frontier was not a healthful place and the inhabitants were constantly plagued with illness. Epidemics of influenza, typhoid fever, malaria, yellow fever, and other diseases were frequently suffered by early Ohioans. In 1826-27, there was an influenza epidemic throughout the state.

Cholera broke out in Ohio in the early fall of 1832, killing thousands before it died out in 1835. Ohio University in its isolation, seems to have escaped the "ravages of the pestilence.". A serious epidemic of scarlet fever occurred during the winter term of 1834-35, when six children died in Athens, three college students were stricken, and Professor Drake was confined to his home for ten days. Wilson and the faculty closed the institution a month early to prevent a greater spread of the disease; new cases had broken out and some students had already left for home, anyway.

In the spring of 1831, Wilson called the attention of the board to the student's need of exercise, especially in the summer. "Most of the literary institutions in the Eastern States," he pointed out, have thought proper to connect bodily exercise of some kind with literary labors of these students; in some places gymnastic exercises are adopted, in other manual labor." Wilson suggested the establishment of a cooper's shop which "would afford exercise and reasonable profits to the students who would spend in it two hours a day." In the fall of 1833 the board approved the proposal for manual labor in the college, and during the summer of 1834 the workshop went into operation. A special building was erected for it, a two story frame structure measuring eighteen by thirty-six feet and equipped with a large brick fireplace "suited to the coopering business." Here students shaved barrel staves two hours each day under the direction of a superintendent. During the summer of 1834, between 10,000 and 15,000 staves were shaved, and by April 1, 1835, a total of 575 barrels had been made. The cooperage did not prove attractive to university students, and only

relatively few took an active interest in it. Since the venture failed to pay for itself, the board in April, 1835, dismissed the superintendent and continued the cooperage under the supervision of a committee of the trustees, and the experiment soon ended in failure.

During the winter quarter in 1837 sickness affected the enrollment and the university's reputation. President Wilson reported that two students left college "in feeble health, one of whom was taken suddenly ill upon the road and died without being able to reach his parents. Six were afflicted with sore eyes and obliged to abandon study; some were called away by their parents and five left us without permission. The prevalence of the smallpox within a few miles of Athens afforded plausible ground for alarm."[193]

Most onerous of the trustees' duties were the examinations of students to be conducted at the board's April and September meetings. The examinations in the prescribed classical subjects consumed many hours and frequently the entire first day of the meeting. On September 20, 1825, the trustees ruled that the students were to receive grades for their work: "A" signifying that a performance was very good; "B" that it was good; and "C" that is was barely tolerable. A trustee committee at each meeting examined student compositions. Invariably from 1824 to 1835 this committee commented on the number of poor papers and the failure of the students to hand in compositions. Most papers generally showed "pretty correct views of their style and manner," but "several were found wanting in orthography and revealed hasty composition."

At this time the curriculum was still classical with some emphasis upon mathematics, philosophy, and science in the junior and senior years. The course of study delineated in the by-laws of the university for 1825 shows the changing emphasis since 1819. The freshman class was required to spend its time on Greek and Latin, and several courses which had been required of the advanced classes in 1819 were now assigned to the freshmen. The sophomore class had less of the classics than in 1819, but was now given courses in logic, algebra, and trigonometry, and in addition, geometry. For the juniors the classics were reduced to Cicero, the "Iliad," and *Collectanea Graeca Majora*, and they were given courses in mensuration, gauging, navigation, surveying, "Conick Sections, Spherick Trigonometry, Philosophy of the Mind," and natural philosophy. Courses in rhetoric, history, and chronology, first given in 1819, were required in 1825. The seniors got new course work in chemistry, mineralogy, and botany in addition to a "general review" of their college work.

Student regulations adopted in 1825 were quite similar to the earlier ones. Each student was required to furnish compositions each fortnight, and compositions were to be presented alternately in English and in Latin. Declamation was required in English, Latin and Greek. The students

[193] Thomas N. Hoover, *The History of Ohio University*, Athens: Ohio University Press (1954), p. 53.

declaimed each evening after prayers, and no student was permitted to deliver the same speech more than twice.

The schedule for the day began with morning prayers and breakfast followed at six o'clock by an hour of study. Recitations and study hours continued until twelve. In the afternoon, classes and recitations ran from one-thirty until evening prayers, and in the evening from candlelighting until nine. The rules specified that during study hours each student "shall remain in his room and pursue his studies with diligence; nor shall anyone unnecessarily absent himself from his room in the hours of study or after nine o'clock at night." Absolute quiet was required during the study hours. In class and out of class students were to behave with "perfect decorum," according to the rules. Strict observance of the Sabbath was required in an orderly, serious, and reverential manner. On that day students were to refrain from all amusements, ordinary studies, employments and meetings for general conversation. Attendance at public worship was required of each student every Sunday. In order to insure orderly conduct, a "visible distance between the classes in retiring from Chapel" was maintained.

The regulations of the university of 1825 in the main repeated the rules of 1814. The use of profane language, drunkeness, riotous behavior, and fighting were prohibited. Fire arms and gunpowder were not allowed on the campus, without permission from a faculty member. Only the president could permit a student to board at a tavern. Finally the regulations read: "Every student, when required, shall give testimony respecting any violation of the laws which shall come to his knowledge, and shall render his aid for the preservation or restoration of good order in the Institution."

The boys in the academy were under the same regulations as college students. It would seem that the regulations were quite sufficient; but the trustees at their meeting of April 14, 1825, decided that "the punishment provided by the existing code adapted to conscience and a sense of honor do not appear to have much weight with smaller boys." The faculty was, therefore, authorized to "employ such expedients as they might wish to boys in the Academy not over 14 years of age."

Like governors of most American colleges of this period, the Ohio University trustees laid down a strict set of regulations and a code of discipline, which, in addition to the growing antagonism toward the classical-mathematical courses, produced a tendency toward rebellion in the student body. At Ohio University the problem of discipline which began in the early twenties and reached a crisis in 1835 remained a major worry at least to the end of McGuffey's administration. In his first report to the trustees in 1824, President Wilson stressed the number of "calls for exercise of discipline." The trustees explained these cases as due to the variety of ages, the habits, temperament, and the tendency toward insubordination of a group of students associated in a public institution. Under the "existing code adapted to Conscience and a sense of honor" the students were required to give testimony regarding any violation of the university's regulations. Apparently it was soon discovered that such

testimony was not always reliable. So, in 1825, the board empowered the president to administer oaths in cases where actual proof was needed. Such oaths, a committee of the board advised were "ordinarily very important to elicit truth." The board and faculty were to find, however, that American boys were opposed to "telling on" one another.

Members of the board, in their sober wisdom, concluded that the best thing to do with a bad boy was to get rid of him. Suspension or expulsion, therefore, became general punishments for the major disciplinary cases. A suspended student, however, might continue to live in Athens where, of course, he continued to associate with the college students. In some cases he became "the instrument of extensive mischief." The board, therefore, sought to have suspended offenders removed several miles from Athens, and it was believed that the state legislature should be petitioned to pass a law to this effect. Such a law fortunately was never passed. In 1825, the trustees established a plan providing for the payment of damages done to the college buildings by students. They decreed that such damage should be assessed equally on all students and required that a dollar deposit be advanced by each student to be returned if not used for building repairs. The plan was sustained through the years.

Perhaps the faculty and trustees failed to achieve satisfactory deportment because they were asking too much of a group of frontier boys, isolated in a two story building in the village of Athens. Staid old pastors like President Wilson, Jacob Lindly, Stephen Lindsley, James Culbertson, Thomas Scott, and James Hoge produced rules of conduct calling for prayers and restricting the leisure time activities of the students. Their attitude was paternalistic and harsh. They did not, on the other hand, provide programs for the development of young men outside the classroom. In early 1826, a demonstration by students was severely dealt with by the faculty with the full approval of the trustees. After that, no serious disturbances arose until 1831, when two students brought charges of improper conduct against Professor William Wall who taught mathematics.

"The preservation of order in the institution has been attended with unusual difficulties," reported President Wilson to the board on April 8, 1834. "Disposition wantonly to destroy glass windows and to deface the walls has been manifested again and again," and one student, he added, has been dismissed by the faculty. A select committee of the board investigating the dismissal reinstated the student, providing he would agree to be "an orderly and regular student." The board regretted the depredations as being "in contrast to the general history of the institution," adding that "embarrassments of this character may always be anticipated when there are large collections of boys and young men from different regions and different education, habits and taste."

The following September, President Wilson regretfully reported to the board that "at no former time have our youth manifested dispositions so ungovernable." Two seniors had been suspended by the Faculty, and he added that they should be given a trial by the trustees before

receiving their degrees. Terming the situation nearly "a state disorder," the trustees' committee commended Professor Wall for his efforts on the night of a particularly rowdy disturbance, August 22, to identify the offenders, whose conduct was described as "boisterous, disorderly and reprehensible." The two students were publicly reprimanded but were permitted to graduate with their class.

In their anxiety to prevent further disciplinary cases, the trustees blundered into a serious crisis. Before adjourning the September meeting, they ruled that the faculty was authorized to maintain order and exercise discipline, but they reserved the right of expulsion to the board. Then they passed a resolution requiring the students to make the following, or similar declaration at the beginning of the next term:

> We and each of us do declare it to be our purpose to be quiet, regular and orderly in our deportment, to observe the regulations of the University, respect the authority of the faculty, and render our aid in detecting and suppressing disorders so long as we continue in the Institution."

This famous pledge recorded in the trustees' minutes, precipitated the crisis of 1835. When, at the opening of the 1834-35 winter term, it was announced that the pledge to "tell on" disorderly students was required of each student, a majority of the students, twenty in the college and ten in the academy, agreed to sign the pledge and enroll in classes; over forty failed to return. The pledge which had produced the crisis and reduced the university to an academy status was abolished by the board at a subsequent meeting.

By the end of his administration President Wilson had the university again in working order. He not only had a full faculty for the time, a staff of five members, but he had also two new buildings. Construction of the two buildings had proceeded slowly. Money for the purchase of materials had not been readily obtained. For this reason as well as others, the university was in debt $5,000 in April, 1837. The state legislature came to the university's aid on March 7, 1838, pledging the funds of the corporation for repayment of the loan. But the loan funds were delayed, and in September, 1838, Wilson reported to the board that the west wing of one of the buildings was unfinished for lack of money and that the lumber for completing it was deteriorating fast. This particular building, forty feet wide, sixty feet long, and two stories in height, was ready in 1839, after the completion of the west wing.

President Wilson had submitted his resignation at the board meeting of April 10, 1838, citing as his reason his advanced years; he was seventy-one at the time of his retirement. The following days the trustees, regretting President Wilson's decision prevailed upon him to continue in office at least during the summer term and then appointed a committee to nominate a new president. At the September meeting they persuaded President Wilson to continue through the winter term, but relieved him of his teaching duties. On April 10, 1839, Robert G. Wilson's resignation

was officially accepted with a resolution of appreciation for his faithful and highly useful services. Until a successor was appointed, the trustees decided to elect a president *pro tempore*, and the faculty were instructed to elect a chairman or to rotate each member as their presiding officer. The choice of method lay with the faculty.

Robert G. Wilson held the office of president of Ohio University for fifteen years (1824-1839). During his administration the little school began to emerge as a solid institution of higher learning. Many other schools had been launched in Ohio and were on their respective ways, such as Cincinnati, Miami, Western Reserve, Oberlin, and Marietta. In the inevitable competition the leadership at Ohio University was slow in recognizing the necessity for a more progressive attitude toward many fields of learning. For this delinquency Wilson must share the blame, although he was a forceful man and deserves praise for keeping the school alive at a time when funds were insecure and insufficient.[194]

[194] Thomas N. Hoover, *The History of Ohio University*, pp. 44-47, 48-50, 57-60, 66-68, *passim*.

CHAPTER IX

OHIO UNIVERSITY (1839-1843)

When William Holmes McGuffey was inaugurated fourth president of Ohio University on September 17, 1839, it was hoped that he could solve the basic problems of the university and lead the trustees and faculty toward building a more flourishing institution. The well known Ohio educator and preacher, the trustees believed, would give stability to the institution and find a way to relieve the critical financial situation aggravated by the Panic of 1837 and the succeeding depression. He had already achieved recognition in the West as the author of the *McGuffey Eclectic Readers,* but his name was not yet the household word it was to become among later generations.

The new president was not a man of great intellectual power or broad philosophical approach. His inability to get along with his colleagues was a chronic failing. His ruggedly independent spirit made it virtually impossible for anyone to fill a professorship during his administration except upon McGuffey's terms. When he came to Ohio University he had lost some of his prestige as an author. Charged in federal court at Cincinnati with plagiarism of a reader compiled by Samuel Worcester of Massachusetts, McGuffey and his publishers had settled out of court. Nevertheless, McGuffey remained a noted preacher and teacher. When he left Ohio University in 1843 he returned to Cincinnati where he taught at Woodward College two years. In 1845 he accepted a professorship of moral philosophy at the University of Virginia which he held until his death in 1873. The *McGuffey Readers* gained increasing fame, and by the end of the first quarter of the century over 120,000,000 of the Readers, frequently revised to be sure, had been sold.

In addition to his executive duties at Ohio University, McGuffey taught moral and mental science. His faculty colleagues were the Reverend Elisha Ballantine, professor of Greek; Daniel Read, professor of Latin and political economy; the Reverend Alfred Ryors, professor of mathematics; the Reverend Frederick Merrick, professor of natural science; and the Reverend Wells Andrews, preceptor of the academy. Professor Ballantine resigned during the winter session of 1840-44, and was succeeded by Reverend John M. Stephenson, principal of the Athens Female Academy. Professors Merrick and Stephenson resigned in July, 1842 and were succeeded by William W. Mather and James I. Kuhn respectively. William W. Bierce, a graduate of the university in 1839, was employed in September, 1841, as an assistant in the preparatory classes because of the large number of beginners. Faculty salaries ranged from eight hundred dollars for the professors to fifteen hundred for McGuffey.

In 1840, McGuffey, in keeping with his belief in the ungraded school, basically reorganized the university. For all practical purposes the academy was abolished, and the preceptor or tutor was taken from that position and added to the college faculty The new president expressed his educational policy to the trustees in April, 1841, in this fashion:

> Preparatory studies are much more successfully pursued under the direction of several Professors than when crowded together in the hands of a Principal of the preparatory department, and the privilege given in the Institution of pursuing any study for which the student is prepared without regard to College rank, while it does not interfere with the regularity of the College class, has proved to be highly satisfactory and greatly beneficial to all concerned.[195]

To extend the range of studies, a department of rhetoric and English literature was created, and Preceptor Andrews of the academy was elected to fill the professorship. In 1841 the president was authorized to hire music and drawing teachers who salaries of one hundred dollars each would indicate that they were on a part-time basis.

A new schedule for the college day was adopted by the faculty on May 16, 1840:

> Faculty Meeting for French at 5 am, First Recitation of the students at 6, Prayers at 7, followed by an intermission for Breakfast and relaxation to 9; Study and Recitations from 9 to 12; Dinner and Relaxation from 12 to 1 pm; Study and Recitations from 1 to 5; Prayers at 5, followed by intermission for supper and Relaxation to 8; Study from 8 to 10.

Despite the full schedule, the students contrived to furnish ample difficulty for the strict faculty. As in most American colleges of the 1840's, disciplinary problems constantly thwarted the process of education. Pranks and disorderly conduct brought frequent dismissals. On June 2, 1840, a member of the senior class was expelled by the faculty because of negligence and insubordination. On the same day, another student, "Mr. Wolf was found to have been engaged in depositing a heap of shavings under and about the stile with the intention of setting fire to them. . . . He was immediately told to leave." Two students attended a political convention at Chester, Ohio, without permission, and "on their return," wrote the secretary of the faculty, "they were informed that by that act cut themselves off the Institution." One student, however, was permitted to go to Zanesville to deliver a Fourth of July address to the Colonization Society, and another was excused to visit his home. On July 10, the faculty minutes recorded another incident:

> Mr. Pickens was, according to his own confession, engaged in the noisy and disorderly proceedings of the night of the 9th, by which a citizen and a company, partly ladies, at his house were grossly insulted. He had also made himself conspicuous in associating with Mr. Adams after his expulsion. He had also been repeatedly warned about absenting himself from his room during study hours at night, but had persevered in disobedience.

[195] Hoover, op. cit., p. 71.

He was dismissed from the institution. Disciplinary difficulties increased the following year, and the faculty decided to report the standings of four students to their parents. On June 19, 1841, the faculty requested a father to withdraw his son from the institution "on the ground that he is doing no good in his studies."

Clement H. Wesson according to the faculty minutes, had refused to attend some of his classes. When he was ordered to resume his studies or be dismissed, Wesson refused to return. Student petitioners in his behalf were invited to a faculty meeting where they were refused an honorable dismissal. All but one of the ten petitioners immediately left the university, another student, Robert Murphy, joining them; whereupon the faculty by resolution dismissed them dishonorably for having left the university without permission. Just what the cause of Wesson's disobedience was, the faculty carefully failed to record. It is interesting to note ten students were sufficiently arroused to leave the college with him.

On July 14, a student was called before the faculty on account of "gross disorder and noise in his room." The student contended that without invitation certain persons had come into his room in a disorderly and boisterous manner and that he had been unable to quiet them. Next day three students were called before the faculty, and admitted that they had been drinking beer and wine, but denied that they were intoxicated. The faculty ordered that they "be publicly admonished of the impropriety of their conduct." On July 22, President McGuffey called a session of the faculty to consider the case of another student, S. Garret, and the faculty ordered that he "be reprimanded before the Faculty and placed on trial of good behavior for three months for going into East College and there in time of study, creating a noise and disturbance by violently striking a board on the floor, and that this reprimand be administered tomorrow evening."

That the disciplinary difficulties of the college faculty were picayune on the whole is evident from the incidents described. The weakness of administration of the early presidents and professors is clear from an analysis of the minutes of the faculty meetings. Day after day the staff met to consider and condemn the boyish pranks of American youth. The faculty minutes, apparently incomplete, show that six students were dismissed from the university between June 2 and July 10, 1840, for reasons which today could hardly be considered justifiable. In the month, June 15 to July 14, 1841, sixteen were dismissed, most of them for leaving the college without permission. These were serious reductions for an already small student body. The faculty failed to take steps to engage the interests of their students beyond the classroom; they offered little but prayer, study, and quiet in the student's extra hours. The spirit of democracy which ruled the nation was denied the students. Strict paternal discipline of American boys, whether in the preparatory school or in the upper classes of the college, was the rule. It extended not only to the classroom but also into other phases of life, into the privacy of the student's

political and religious activities. When students resisted these academic restrictions of a group of hard-shell minister-professors, they were charged with insubordination or were told to leave.

Nevertheless, the trustees sustained the faculty in its disciplinary acts and commended it for its "diligence and firmness," and a group of the citizens of Athens approved the faculty in matters of discipline in an official communication. This "diligence and firmness," however, proved fatal to the seniors, for only one of the fifteen was left to graduate in 1841. All of the trouble in 1841 followed a religious revival during which President McGuffey expressed devout gratitude to Almighty God for the "outpouring of His spirit" upon the college. He reported that "a number of students have been brought to rejoice in hope of the Glory of God, and the fruits of piety have been still more extensively manifested in the deportment of the students."

It is difficult to understand McGuffey's happy report when the faculty was showing such a continual concern over disciplinary policy. The Old School Presbyterian domination of the university and McGuffey's own intellectual limitations were responsible for the unhealthy situation that existed in the college. The optimism of his report was consistent with his character and principles. He interpreted the term "Christian Religion" in his sense of orthodox Calvinism. Under his leadership, for example, members of the Presbyterian Church in Athens were brought to trial for their liberal interpretation of Calvinism and were excommunicated. Students in the university, obviously not among the elect in his opinion and bad according to his interpretation of morality, were removed without compunction. According to McGuffey the university was better off when these evil influences were removed.

McGuffey and other early officers of the university defended their disciplinary actions on the grounds that they were charged by the college's charter to teach Christian religion. However, neither the act of 1802 nor that of 1804 calls for instruction in the Christian religion, although Section 1 of each act might be subjected to that interpretation. Both acts in Manasseh Cutler's words, call for instruction "in all the various branches of liberal arts and sciences," and for the "promotion of good education, virtue, religion, and morality."

The qualified interpretation by McGuffey, the faculty, and the board of Cutler's general and catholic phrases amounted to an oppression which denied the university the opportunity to serve the entire people of Ohio to whom it was obligated. No one more definitely administered the university with the hard hand of orthodox Calvinism than did McGuffey. This left the state university with friends only among a limited group, namely the Old School Presbyterians.

It is not surprising that student enrollment, still suffering partly from the financial hardship of Ohio farmers, continued to decline during 1841 and early 1842. The trustees believed that the decrease resulted not from any deficiency on the part of the faculty, but rather from "the pecuniary

difficulties of the times and the discipline necessary to the preservation of order." The spring term of 1842, however, brought a sharp upturn, with eighty-two students enrolled. A year later there were ninety-two students enrolled during the third or spring session, despite the trustees' ruling that there is to be no more "charity" students except in unusual cases.

Handling the university's inheritance of land continued to be the most difficult problem for the institution's management. The trustees for over three decades had used all the means within their power to increase the revenues from the two townships and in early 1841 in desperation sought to invoke the right of revaluation of the university lands as provided for in the act of 1804. Since, however, it had been assumed that the amending act of 1805, had repealed the revaluation clause, this proposed action stirred up bitter protest from the inhabitants of Athens and Alexander townships. Trustee William Medill of Lancaster broached the grave matter at the April meeting of the board of trustees and a committee was appointed promptly to revalue university lands which had been leased for thirty-five years and reappraise all house and town lots in Athens which had been sold. All properties which had been sold were to be taxed "such additional sums as may be equal to the tax imposed from time to time on property of like value and description by the state," in accordance with a law passed on January 15, 1840, directing that "all tracts of land set apart for school or ministerial purposes, and sold by and under authority of law, shall be and the same are hereby declared subject to taxation." The Athens County members of the university's board of trustees opposed the move, but the board approved it by a vote of nine to three. Because of the protests of important landholders, however, a committee was authorized to arrange with the lessees to submit the question of the power of the board to revaluate the lands to the courts in a test case. Pending the outcome, all sales in fee simple authorized by the act of 1826 were suspended, as was the order permitting lessee to surrender leases and received title in fee simple.

An "agreed case" was promptly forthcoming, and Festus McVey and other lessees took legal action to enjoin the proposed revaluation. In December the Ohio Supreme Court, holding that the act of 1805 in no way repealed the revaluation clause of the act of 1804, dismissed the bill of the lessees, thus enabling the trustees to revalue the lands and tax them or increase the rent to enhance the university's income.

The lessees carried their fight to the state legislature where they maintained a large and persistent lobby, and in March 1843, obtained permanent relief by an act which fixed the original valuation as the only true appraisal: "It is the true intent and meaning of the first section of the act of [February 21, 1805] . . . that the leases granted under and by virtue of said act, and the one to which that was an amendment."

By this act of 1843, Ohio University was virtually stripped of its birthright of land, and the question may be raised whether the trust

invested in the state of Ohio by the federal government was not violated. Revaluation of the two townships was forever prohibited, and the university's income was forever fixed at a nominal sum. Land in Athens and Alexander townships thus continued to be valued in terms of the undeveloped lands of pioneer Ohio, without recognizing the enhancement of land values resulting from increasing population, industrialization, or land improvements. The annual rent returned from these lands, as fixed by the act of 1843, amounts today to about $4,500, a sum far less than that envisioned by the founding fathers who had predicted of as much as forty or fifty thousand dollars. By comparison it may be noted that the annual income of the University of Michigan from a grant of similar size and kind was over $38,000 in 1907. Less than twenty years after the act of 1843, an investigating committee of the Ohio Senate, headed by James A. Garfield, aptly summed up the effect of the act:

> The act of March 10, 1843, gives evidence of an unfortunate exercise of power without right; . . . It is unjust to the University of Ohio, unjust to the donors of the endowment, and unjust to the character and honor of the state in her relation to both of the other parties and to herself."

Not until the turn of the century did the state of Ohio right this wrong by granting annual appropriations for the support of the university. The intervening years were years of hardship and frustration, limited facilities, enrollments, and equipment, during which Ohio University, if properly endowed and administered, might have become one of the great American universities.

Complicating the financial problems of McGuffey's presidency, was the lax and inefficient handling of university funds by the trustees. Although the institution's income was wholly inadequate, the trustees failed to budget properly or adhere to their budgets. Despite a balance of $247 reported by Henry Bartlett, the university auditor, in April, 1840, no payments were made on the university debt. The following April the trustees' committee on finance reported that the orders issued by the treasurer had increased the university's debt to $5,267.59, exclusive of the state debt of $5,000 borrowed from the canal commissioners in 1838.

Plans for refinancing the university's debts were put into operation at the trustees' meeting on August 2, 1843. Trustee Calvary Morris of Athens, aided by Trustee Samuel F. McCracken, was appointed university agent to inquire into the best manner of refunding the university debt. He also was authorized to arrange for a loan of not more than $15,000, payable after 1863 and bearing six per cent interest. In the event the loan was obtained, land rents were to be irrevocably pledged for the payment of the interest and capital until the loan was paid off.

President McGuffey resigned giving as the most important reasons for his decision the chaos of the university's finances and state's refusal to assist in expanding the limited income from land rents. He had had high hopes of making Ohio University an outstanding institution of higher learning. His training and experience at Miami had taught him some of the

weaknesses of the state universities endowed by cheap lands. He knew that the facilities of a standard college had to be good, and he had discovered that decent salaries were necessary to attract qualified teachers. His early efforts to develop the university met with a modicum of success. Within a year and a half after his inauguration the enrollment had jumped to a record 120, but the increase in the number of students was brief and tuition fees soon fell again. The university was not yet ready to operate according to progressive principles either as regards its business administration or its curriculum and discipline. The disheartening act of March, 1843, cooled McGuffey's enthusiasm. Nor was he in a happy situation, for McGuffey had taken an active part in the struggle for revaluation of lands and had "thus incurred the odium of a large majority of the people." Whether he was actually stoned on the streets of Athens by citizens of the town, as sometimes reported, cannot be verified, but the protestations of some citizens of Athens before the board against the alleged rumors of hostile actions by the Athenians, suggest such attacks may have been made by the townspeople.

Other factors unquestionably entered into McGuffey's decision to leave. Rising discord in the board and among the faculty made his position difficult and trying. Board members were lax in their attendance at meetings and lack of morale was evident among the faculty. Professors Merrick and Andrews left in 1842, and there were rumors, evidently emanating from certain trustees, that the university might be closed for several years and that teachers and students might be told not to return for the fall session. As a result, the enrollment dropped steadily until in the spring session there were only ninety-one students. Professor Kuhn attributed this decline to McGuffey's "imprudence and violence of temper." It should be added that McGuffey's salary had been reduced because of declining tuition fees. When his dissatisfaction became known, friends and supporters in southwestern Ohio, including Dr. R. H. Bishop of Miami, found him a new position at Woodward College in Cincinnati.[196]

[196] Hoover, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71, 73-5, 79, 82-3, *passim*.

CHAPTER X

WILLIAM HOLMES McGUFFEY (1800-1873)

William Holmes McGuffey was born in western Pennsylvania three miles from West Alexandria on September 23, 1800. The immediate ancestors of McGuffey were Scotch-Irish and his parents who migrated to America in 1774 moved westward from their early home in eastern Pennsylvania to the newly opened lands in western Pennsylvania after the conquest of these lands from the Indians. In 1802 McGuffey's parents moved into the forest lands of the Ohio Territory four miles north of the present city of Youngstown. With some home instruction by his mother and schooling, he mastered the art of teaching. When fourteen years of age he agreed to teach a four-month session of a rural subscription school on Lot 4 West Union (Calcutta, Ohio) and to tutor all pupils from twenty-three families at two dollars per term, commencing the first Monday of September, 1814. The signers of the agreement promised forty-eight pupils.[197]

With the intention of preparing himself for the ministry, he attended Greersburg Academy, later Darlington, Pennsylvania. This school was supported by the Presbyterian Church of which Reverend Thomas E. Hughs was principal and also served as pastor of the church. McGuffey paid for his tuition by doing janitorial work at the church and chores about the pastor's home. He boarded at the Reverend Hughs' home. At any rate, Reverend Hughs latinized the young McGuffey for college.

He attended Greersburg Academy during his spare time and vacations from teaching in Ohio and Kentucky. It is possible that McGuffey taught a log-cabin subscription school near Ashland, Kentucky,[198] but it is certain that he conducted a subscription school at Paris, Kentucky.[199] Dr. Sander's source was an article by William Barbee of Glasgow, Kentucky, a former pupil of McGuffey's at Paris, published November 19, 1873 in *The True Kentuckian* and later in the *Kentuckian Citizen*, January 22, 1930. Barbee states that McGuffey conducted his school in the dining room adjacent to the kitchen of the old stone house which was the residence of Reverend

[197] The original contract in McGuffey Museum, Oxford, Ohio.

[198] Letter to the author by Mrs. Charles C. Calvert, Chairman of the Mason County Historical Society, Maysville, Kentucky, March 2, 1971 "The only thing I know about a log cabin connected with McGuffey is that I saw one in Ashland, Kentucky, behind the property of Jean Thomas, the Traipsin's Woman of Kentucky Folk Song fame. She informed me that it was McGuffey's cabin. Of course, at one time, Mason County reached from the Licking River to the Big Sandy. Nineteen counties were formed from the original Mason County. So perhaps that is Mason County's only claim to McGuffey. . . ."

[199] Robert Stuart Sanders, *Presbyterians in Paris and Bourbon County, Kentucky 1786-1961*, Louisville: The Dunne Press, (1961), pp. 46-49.

John McFarland, pastor of the Presbyterian Church and moderator of the Kentucky Presbyterian Synod in 1822. No doubt this was how McGuffey met the circuit riding preacher Robert Hamilton Bishop. Both Reverend John McFarland and Reverend R. H. Bishop attempted to reform the Associate Reformed Church in Kentucky and both were liberals. Together the pair edited "The Sermons on Important Subjects by Reverend James McChord, for the benefit of the Children of the Author," and published by T. T. Skillman of Lexington, Kentucky, 1822. Thus, it was not "by chance" that R. H. Bishop met and was impressed by this young man W. H. McGuffey at Paris, Kentucky, where he taught from 1823-1826, nor did McGuffey teach his seven pupils to the tune of seven switches regardless of sex in "an abandoned smokehouse," a misconception kept alive over the years by various authors.

When McGuffey left Reverend Thomas E. Hughs and Greersburg Academy, he applied for a teaching position at Warren, Ohio. Two trustees, however, were Yale graduates and intentionally stumped McGuffey with questions that he could not answer. Stung by this rejection, McGuffey decided that he needed a college education and entered Washington College, Washington, Pennsylvania, where he lived with the president, Reverend Andrew Wylie. It was six miles from the president's home to the college and the two men walked the distance together.[200]

On the recommendation of R. H. Bishop, president of Miami University, W. H. McGuffey was unanimously elected to the faculty by the trustees on March 29, 1826. This event occurred before he had completed his requirements for graduation at Washington College, but the college graduated him with honors at the end of the school year. McGuffey was strong in his favorite subjects, philosophy and the Greek and Latin languages.

After he arrived and was settled in Oxford, the new professor met Harriet Spining, the daughter of Judge Isaac Spining of Dayton, Ohio, and sister of Charles Spining, an Oxford merchant. After almost a year's courtship they were married on April 3, 1827, at "Woodside," the Spining family home near Dayton.

Harriet was a beautiful girl, with dark brown hair that lay in deep waves all over her head. The long curls she wore on either side of her face were held in place with small tortoise shell combs. It was then the fashion for married women to wear caps. Harriet's husband liked the custom so much that she wore caps the rest of her life.

In 1828 McGuffey bought a four-acre-tract of land (Outlot 9) on East Spring Street. On it was a small frame house in which the McGuffeys lived for a time. Two of their children were born in it. Later the McGuffeys built a two-story brick house of six rooms immediately in front of the old house, joining the two houses to make an elegant mansion, which they painted bright red. This was a more suitable dwelling place for the

[200] William E. Smith, "William Holmes McGuffey, Mid-American," *Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society,* (Cincinnati) XVII, No. 1, pp. 38-51.

daughter of Judge Isaac Spining. The McGuffeys moved into the new house in 1832-33.[201]

In the history of Miami University none of her professors stand out quite so brilliantly as the great triumvirate, three of the most illustrious educators of the early West, Robert Hamilton Bishop, William Holmes McGuffey, and John W. Scott, a pioneer in the field of education for women, founder of the Oxford College for Women, and father of Caroline Scott Harrison, the wife of President Benjamin Harrison.

When McGuffey came to Miami in 1826, an honor graduate of Washington College, Pennsylvania, he became professor of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and *ex-officio* librarian. Of this Scott wrote many years later:

> He was a man of very considerable talent, though not very general scholarship, especially of mathematics and natural science; of active mind and fond of abstract and metaphysical investigation and discussion; an ingenious and plausible, but not always fair and safe reasoner; a very popular lecturer and public speaker, from his fluency and command of the language, though never rising to the higher flights of oratory; a man withal of a good deal of personal vanity and ambition.[202]

The third of Miami University's great "immortals," Scott, came in 1828, also from Washington College. "For the invitation in the first place," he declared, "I have always considered myself indebted to the kindness of Mr. McGuffey, to whom I was previously known and who was good enough . . . to suggest my name to some of the members of the Board."[203]

A warm attachment for Bishop resulted in a most intimate friendship which lasted throughout the latter's life. In 1845, Scott left the University to begin his work in behalf of education for women, organizing a ladies' college in College Hill, near Cincinnati, which shortly was moved to Oxford, where it developed into Oxford College for Women.

The smoothness with which the Bishop administration had started was interrupted suddenly by discord which lasted for about six years. The trouble began in 1831 when McGuffey first started seriously to prosecute his plan of having a new professorship created for himself out of what had before belonged to the department of the president. "It was then for the first time that I recollect," declared John W. Scott, "of hearing any serious complaint against Dr. Bishop either on the score of talent for instruction or government."[204] McGuffey approached members of the faculty concerning Bishop, later centering his attack on Bishop's liberality in administering the student body. Attempts were made to appease Mc-

[201] William E. Smith, "The McGuffey Museum of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio," a pamphlet, courtesy of the McGuffey Museum. N.D.

[202] From the life of McGuffey by Harvey C. Minnich in "William Holmes McGuffey and the Peerless Pioneer McGuffey Readers," Miami University *Bulletin* (Oxford, Ohio, 1902), XXVI (1928), No. -1.

[203] Statement by Scott, September 1, 1836 to the Board of Trustees, John Scott MSS in Miami University Library.

[204] John L. Clifton, *Ten Famous American Educators* (Columbus, Ohio, 1933), p. 67.

Guffey by giving him the professorship of mental philosophy and philosophy.[205] Bishop even went so far as to suggest a cut of $200 in his own salary in order to raise the salary of McGuffey whom he praised before the Board at the time. In addition he suggested adding assistant professors to aid both McGuffey and Scott in their respective departments. As a result both of these men were given salary increases and assistants by the Board. But even this did not satisfy the ambitious McGuffey; though he appeared to acquiesce he continued to grumble bitterly in private. He complained that he was kept down in point of grade and notice in the faculty. McGuffey went to see Bishop but the difficulties only became more serious. McGuffey charged Bishop with making arrangements so as to keep him as much as possible in the shade and not to suffer his merits and instructions to appear.

One of the early attacks upon Bishop was made in 1833, at the time of the cholera epidemic. The students demanded suspension of school activities, and Bishop apparently favored such a step, for the students were panic stricken and could not do good work in that condition. A faculty investigation, however, resulted in the declaration that there was no cholera in or about Oxford at the time and there was no need for dismissal. Scott and McGuffey both held out against suspension, whereas Bishop, in favoring such action, seemed to McGuffey to cast reflections upon him.

McGuffey made this the object of his statement of grievances to the Board of Trustees, according to Scott. From that time on the conflict grew worse. Scarcely an act of discipline or general management but was made the ground of exception and ill-natured remark against Bishop. Indeed, it seemed as if McGuffey was disposed to look upon nothing which Bishop did with a favorable eye, and to interpret nothing in a charitable manner. Not mentioning a name, Bishop wrote in his "Weekly Journal" at the time, "The two last weeks have been important weeks in college. The enemy seemed to prevail and an Explosion or breaking up of the college was threatened."[206] In spite of the decision of the faculty not to close, a number of the students left school.

In 1835, Albert T. Bledsoe entered the faculty to teach mathematics. Later he became quite important in the history of the country. As an attorney in Springfield, Illinois, he was a friend and rival of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. During the Civil War he won prominence as a writer in behalf of the cause of the south, as assistant secretary of war of the Confederate cabinet, and as agent to England from the southern states. He was a graduate of West Point where he became a friend of Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis, and where he was instilled with the disciplinary principles of the army. He was a quick-tempered individual, and his presence at Miami University helped to bring on the crisis of the

[205] A catalogue of the Officers and students of Miami University, 1833 (Oxford, Ohio, 1833).

[206] Weekly Journal, September 8, 1833, R. H. Bishop MSS (in Bishop homestead).

quarrel. A young man, he soon fell under the influence of McGuffey who sought to make him an ally in his struggle against Bishop.

The crisis came in 1835 when "a more than usual number of unruly students" was admitted. Unruly students were not unusual, however, in the early colleges of the West. This was a period when college rebellions were breaking out all over the country. The troubles at Miami University were not exceptions. In the first part of the year, much trouble was experienced with a number of students. On January 9, Francis Carter was dismissed for having been "a ringleader in a fight or riot at one of the groceries in the village. Later Calvin Miller was 'publicly expelled' for having attacked Charles Telford with a 'cowhide and dirk,' and George B. Harden was expelled 'for shooting with a pistol and wounding and maiming Calvin Miller.' "[207]

A number of the members of the faculty determined among themselves to put an end to these troubles. Their plans were to punish severely the first one caught and make an example of him. But the next cases were more difficult. Several of the best students were caught on Christmas eve, according to Scott, "making a very trifling noise near the door of one of the buildings, with a certain interdicted instrument (merely a quill cut in a particular way, which on blowing upon it gave a peculiar noise)." The first vote of the faculty decided the boys should be dismissed.

The vote had been unanimous except for Bishop, who said, however, that he would support the majority decision, "although it should be at the top of fifty students." McGuffey expressed great happiness "that for once he had got the Junior members of the Faculty up to the mark and had obtained at least an unanimous vote for the enforcement of rigid discipline." Meanwhile, Scott and a colleague, Samuel W. McCracken, decided their votes had been too hasty and too severe, and hence, the faculty could reach no final decision. The student body threatened to leave if the action contemplated were carried out. McGuffey, now forced into a compromising position, suddenly switched, told the boys "what we might justly have . . . done with them, and what the Board and the public were loudly requiring of us in the way of discipline," and then let them go clear with a threat of what they might expect the next time. Bishop, in announcing the decision to the students, left out any statement concerning the demand of public opinion for strict enforcement of all regulations, and this served to fan the flames of McGuffey's anger.

Scott blamed McGuffey for the great share of the trouble. McGuffey stood firmly for strict discipline in the faculty meetings, yet he has on the other hand to the student appeared the magnanimous, clever fellow in faculty who was not prying out little things and bringing students to justice for them. I have myself observed a very great difference between the tone assumed by McGuffey respecting a young man in secret faculty session, and when the young man himself was present before us. In the

[207] Minutes of the Faculty, 1824-1840, January 9, 1835 and March 6, 1835, Miami University MSS.

one case it has sometimes been harsh, laconic and denunciatory in the extreme; in the other, smooth as oil."[208]

In July 1836, Bledsoe handed in his resignation to Bishop, at the latter's suggestion. McGuffey left Miami University two months before commencement to go to Clinton, Mississippi, in attempt to obtain the presidency of the new Mississippi College. His trip, however, was in vain, for the position was given to Ebenezer Newton Elliott, a graduate of Miami University in 1830. Shortly thereafter, he returned to be offered the presidency of the reorganized Cincinnati College, the bitter rival of Miami University.

As for Bledsoe, so far as is known, he had no other relations with Miami University. Many years later he and McGuffey were reunited at the University of Virginia where both were professors.

The two chief trouble-makers had been forced out of Miami. Bishop quite naively wrote in his "Yearly Journal" after that . . . "college going on well. The Lord has been kind in removing difficulties."[209]

McGuffey handed in his resignation to the Board which reads as follows:

To the Board of Trustees
of Miami University
Gentlemen:

Oxford 26th. Aug. 1836

Believing it to be my duty to employ my time in other relations, I hereby respectfully tender to you my resignation of the office which I have hitherto held under your appointment. I'm then taking leave of an institution with which I have been connected for the period of nearly eleven years, permit me, Gentlemen, to express my best wishes for its continued prosperity and success.

I remain Gentlemen yours with respect,
Wm. H. McGuffey

Bod of T.
Of M.U.

Believe that the resignation of Professor McGuffey presented to this Board be accepted and his professorship declared vacant.

When McGuffey left Miami in August 1836, he was drawn into the presidency of Cincinnati College. Dr. Daniel Drake, who had been a trustee of Miami University and head of the Miami Medical School in Cincinnati, a branch of Miami, was directing the reorganization of Cincinnati College. He apparently knew of the dissension in the faculty of the Oxford institution and possibly that Bishop was not receiving the full support of the Board of Trustees. McGuffey, very popular as a speaker with Cincinnatians, was, therefore, chosen president of the Cincinnati College to begin his duties September 1, 1836. This was part of a scheme to wreck Miami University to the benefit of the school in Cincinnati. Shortly after McGuffey became president, the old claim of Cincinnati College supporters that Miami University belonged within the

[208] John W. Scott, "Narrative on Miami Personalities," Miami University Library, Oxford, Ohio.

[209] Yearly Journal, December 24, 1837, Bishop MSS.

Symmes Purchase was revived and a movement started to revert the funds of the Oxford institution to the college at Cincinnati. The attempt, however, to carry the plot into the state legislature failed; and when it failed the college withered, and McGuffey was soon of little value to Cincinnati. He resigned his position in 1839. Two Miami students writing in 1836 declared:

> Galloway says he heard McGuffey deliver his inaugural address in Cincinnati, he says that he thinks that he is a curious genious. In his address he advocated the doctrine that a college ought to be in a city, but while he lived in Oxford he held the doctrine that a college ought be in some excluded place and a very small town about it. Perhaps he will be an abolitionist, when the community in which he lives requires him to be one and such a time, may not be far distant, as Mr. Drury who was elected president, is an avowed abolitionist.[210]

This letter suggests another point in McGuffey's opposition to Bishop; namely, the ever-growing slavery question. Bishop and Scott were outstanding leaders in this region. In 1834, an anti-slavery society was organized at Miami University. It was during the following two years that the struggle between Bishop and McGuffey came to a crisis. McGuffey, so far as it is known, never expressed himself on slavery, but through his contacts both before and following the Civil War it is known that he was much in the favor of the southerners. Bledsoe, of course, was a pro-slavery advocate and upheld slavery as morally justified according to the Bible.

When McGuffey left Miami he did not go with the best wishes of his colleagues and students. Joel Collins, the secretary of the Board wrote:

> I was once under the disagreeable necessity of charging Professor McGuffey to his face with treating us with ingratitude, after he had become identified with another institution of learning, by steping out of his way in his harangs to caution the people against sending their sons to Oxford where it was more likely they would be made drunkards and gamblers than good scholars.[211]

After McGuffey's departure the university did not fail as he thought it must. Rather, as the figures show, it prospered, and within three years reached its early zenith, the greatest of its existence. The same month that McGuffey became president of Cincinnati College a committee of the Board of Trustees of Miami University reported that the faculty was then in harmony and enjoying each other's confidence. One of the students, writing home, expressed the attitude of those at Miami toward McGuffey's exit:

> When I look on the flourishing condition of Miami University, at this time, and at the peace and harmony with which everything goes on and at

[210] C. Wilson and Robert H. Hollyday to their parents, November 22, 1836, Robert H. Hollyday MSS, Miami University.

[211] Joel Collins to R. H. Bishop, July 4, 1851, Joel Collins MSS (in Miami University Library).

the hope of our future prospects, I feel no delacasy in a saying that McGuffey going away from here is one of the greatest blessings [that] ever happened [to] Miami University.

I have been reciting this session to Dr. Bishop the same branch (moral science) which we would have recited to McGuffey had he been here, and I feel assured, that we have lost nothing by the change. McGuffey, it is true, possesses very emanent abilities, as a teacher; but then his manner of teaching is althogether different from that of Dr. Bishop. He was everlastingly dealing in little things, and would take up the whole resatation hour in talking about almost nothing, and when he was done you could tell, neither head nor tail of it. But Dr. Bishop comes along (though not quite so polished a manner as McGuffey) and throws out some of great and leading facts and general principles (as he calls them) which every one can remember, and develop to an almost indeffinate extent.[212]

Of course, this gives a different picture of the celebrated McGuffey than has usually been presented; and no claim should be made that it represents a complete picture. That McGuffey had great abilities and many good characteristics is undoubted. It was while at Miami University and during his conflict there that McGuffey compiled some of the famous readers which bear his name. It is perhaps appropriate to say, as Burke A. Hinsdale, noted historian and authority on the Northwest Territory, declared: "William H. McGuffey was little more than McGuffey readers."[213]

During his years at Miami, as president of Cincinnati College and Ohio University, and as a professor at Woodward College, he failed in his relationships with other men. Even in the University of Virginia where he taught for twenty-eight years he was not successful in making lasting friends.[214]

On November 25, 1843, the trustees of Ohio University accepted President McGuffey's resignation with regret and respect. From 1845 to 1848 Ohio University was closed. McGuffey returned to Cincinnati in 1843, out of a job. His friends, including Robert Hamilton Bishop, recommended him for a professorship at Woodward College. He taught philosophy there until 1845.

In 1845 the trustees of the University of Virginia elected Thomas Cooper, later president of the University of South Carolina, to the chair of moral philosophy and political economy, but the election was nullified when it was learned that Cooper was an atheist. Then W. C. Rives, a distinguished Virginian and statesman, nominated William Holmes McGuffey. The board tied on a number of ballots, half for McGuffey and half for Thomas R. Dew of William and Mary College. Professor Dew printed *An Essay in Favor of Slavery*, 1833 which produced an extra-

[212] Robert H. Hollyday to his family, December 26, 1836, Hollyday MSS., Miami University.

[213] Burke A. Hinsdale. "The History of Popular Education on the Western Reserve" *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Publications*, VI (1887-1898), p. 43.

[214] James H. Rodabaugh. *Robert Hamilton Bishop*, The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, (1935), pp. 84-5, 88-92, *passim*.

ordinary effect upon the public mind and, for a while, set at rest the question of emancipation in Virginia. The fact that McGuffey was regarded as an emancipationist was against him. He believed, however, that slaves should not be emancipated before they were prepared to accept the responsibilities of freedom. Jefferson Randolph led the opposition to McGuffey because the candidate was a preacher and continued to oppose him for some time after he was elected. In the end, McGuffey was elected, his emancipation views far enough away from abolition to make him acceptable. Randolph finally cooled off and eventually became McGuffey's friend. The new professor made a place for himself on the faculty and in the state that enabled him to weather the stormy days of the Civil War.[215]

Professor McGuffey lived in Pavillion No. 9 at the southwest corner of the "University Lawn." Thomas Jefferson, expecting all the professors to be bachelors, had planned the pavillions for bachelor's quarters. The kitchen and servants' quarters were in the basement, the dining room and lecture room on the first floor, a parlor and two bedrooms on the second. When a married man replaced a bachelor, the lecture room became the parlor and the original parlor became a third bedroom. Mrs. McGuffey's bedroom was, therefore, the handsomest room in the house. Its deep cornice "was ornamented with heads of little children which gave the rooms a very handsome appearance."

Even at the University of Virginia McGuffey was not successful in making lasting friends. A biographer of him in the latter period has left this note:

> Men need in part to live with men. Dr. McGuffey cut himself off voluntarily from all such intimacies, and the lack of wholesome reactions which arise from daily contact with our fellow-workers soon began to affect his temper and his acts. He grew arbitrary and exacting, absented himself from the meetings of the University Faculty, ran his school by self-made rules and paid little attention to the general laws and usages ordained for the government of the University.[216]

McGuffey traveled over the state of Virginia speaking in behalf of a state system of common schools for which he is known as the "father of the common school system of Virginia." Whenever he returned to visit his younger brother, Alexander, in Ohio, he was in great demand to speak on education at teachers' institutes or associations.

In 1850 Harriet McGuffey became very ill. Hoping to restore her health, her husband took her back to Woodside, her girlhood home near Dayton. There she died that summer and was buried in the Woodside cemetery.

[215] Harvey C. Minnich, "William Holmes McGuffey," Miami University *Bulletin* (Oxford, Ohio, 1902), XXVI (1928), No. 11.

[216] William M. Thornton, "The Life and Services of William Holmes McGuffey: Philosopher, Teacher, Preacher," University of Virginia *Alumni Bulletin* (Charlottesville, Virginia), Series 3, Vol. X (1971), no. 3.

The next year Professor McGuffey married Laura Howard, the daughter of the Dean of the Medical Department in the University of Virginia. They had one child, Anna, who died at the age of five.[217]

William Holmes McGuffey, author of the first four of McGuffey's *Eclectric Readers,* and his younger brother, Alexander Hamilton McGuffey, author of McGuffey's *Rhetorical Guide,* or *Fifth Reader,* as well as the sixth reader, were both greatly concerned with the art of good speech. William, the educator, was renowned at Miami University and later at the University of Virginia as one of the faculty's outstanding lecturers. John Sharp Williams, a student of McGuffey at the University of Virginia who became known as the "Scholar of the Senate" when he represented Mississippi, claimed that 'Dr. McGuffey possessed the ability to transplant ideas from his own mind to the minds of others and have them grow, to a degree never possessed by any other man with whom I ever had contact as a teacher."[218]

McGuffey's own ability as a speaker was soon known throughout Ohio. In 1829, while teaching at Miami, he was ordained a minister in the Presbyterian Church. During his life he preached over 3,000 sermons. He encouraged his students to offer their services to rural congregations. As justification, he is reported to have told students, "You can improve your elocution and learn to put your thoughts into simple sentences that the illiterate can understand."

In addition to classroom speaking and sermons, McGuffey frequently lectured. He was a leading force in the attempt to establish sound public education in Ohio. Among the topics he spoke on were: "The Common Schools," "School Examinations," "The Relationship of Parents and Teachers," and "Ethics of Education."[219]

Alexander Hamilton McGuffey, of whom less is known than of his more famous older brother, was evidently also highly concerned with speech. Sixteen years younger than his brother, Alexander enrolled at Miami when his brother accepted a position on the faculty. Much of Alexander's early interest in speech seems to have been a result of his older brother's influence. That early interest continued throughout Alexander's life. His daughter recalls that:

> I can never cease to be grateful to my father for instilling into his children a love of reading and a pleasure in words, their exact meaning and proper pronunication. He constantly corrected our enunciation and intonations, and would no more tolerate a slovenly speech than a slouchy posture.[220]

Alexander studied for the bar, becoming one of the most prominent lawyers in Cincinnati. The lifelong interest in speechmaking shared by

[217] William E. Smith, "About the McGuffey," Oxford, Ohio: Cullen Printing Co., (1963), p. 14.

[218] C. B. Galbreath, *Ten Famous American Educators,* ed. John L. Clifton (Columbus, Ohio, 1933), pp. 72-73. Also see: Harvey C. Minnich, *William Holmes McGuffey and His Readers* (Cincinnati, 1963), p. 32.

[219] C. B. Galbreath, *ibid.,* pp. 66-70.

[220] C. B. Galbreath, *ibid.,* p. 58.

the McGuffey's proved invaluable in the early 1830's when William was asked to compose a set of readers for Truman and Smith Publishers of Cincinnati. McGuffey had not been Truman and Smith's first choice. They had first asked Catherine Beecher, Lyman Beecher's talented daughter, to prepare a series of readers for them. Catherine refused, claiming that her efforts on behalf of female education and physical condition were too time-consuming, but recommended Professor McGuffey who had worked with her on several projects concerning public education in Ohio. As it was, according to Dr. Hepburn, McGuffey's son-in-law, the *Primer* was written by Mrs. McGuffey and published under her husband's name to give it prestige (William E. Smith, "About the McGuffey's," p. 8.) and, in addition, McGuffey himself had already nearly completed two readers in a series he hoped to submit to publishers. Consequently, he was delighted to accept Truman and Smith's offer, which would provide him royalties up to one thousand dollars, plus additional money if he aided in future revisions.[221]

An absolutely accurate estimate of the number of people who studied the *McGuffey Readers* is impossible to make, although Louis Dilman, President of the American Book Company, which published many editions of the readers, set the figure over 122-million copies of their books sold. Exactly how many books in excess of this figure were sold cannot be precisely established, though it can be safely assumed to be in the millions. No figures on the South's "bootleg" printing of the readers are available, but evidently substantial numbers of the readers were printed during the Civil War years in Nashville. Additionally, in 1860, McGuffey's *New Juvenile Speaker* was issued. Figures for this volume are not available. The fact, however, that it went through several printings and was issued by three different publishers would indicate that it sold well.[222]

At the time of his second marriage to Laura Howard in 1851, the McGuffey readers were selling at popular prices. An advertisement in the Xenia Torch Light, February 11, 1851 reveals that the spellers were selling at one dollar a dozen. The *First Reader* was selling for 7 cents a copy; the *Second Reader* for 13; the *Third Reader* for 20; and *Fifth* for 50 cents.

In 1863 Obed Jay Wilson, the president of Wilson, Hinkle, and Company, persuaded his company to settle an annuity upon the author of the books that had made him a fortune. It is said that Wilson sent McGuffey a barrel of sugar-cured hams every Christmas. His salary was so low that the annuity and the hams must have been welcome, indeed. The annuity was paid until his death in 1873. The publishers could well afford the annuity for McGuffey books were shipped out by trainloads in the 1870's and 1880's.[223]

[221] Robert Friedenberg, "America's Most Widely Read Speech Teachers: The Brothers McGuffey," (Reprint from the *Speech Teacher*) 21:2 (March, 1972), pp. 80-81.

[222] Robert Friedenberg, *ibid.*, p. 79.

[223] William E. Smith, "About the McGuffeys," *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

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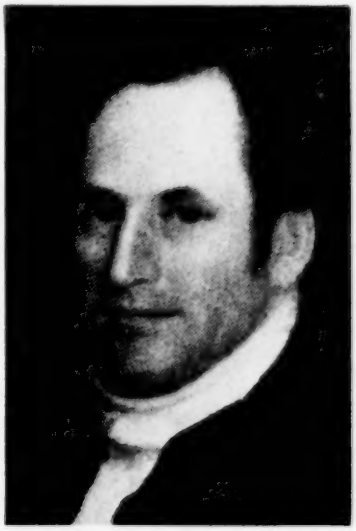
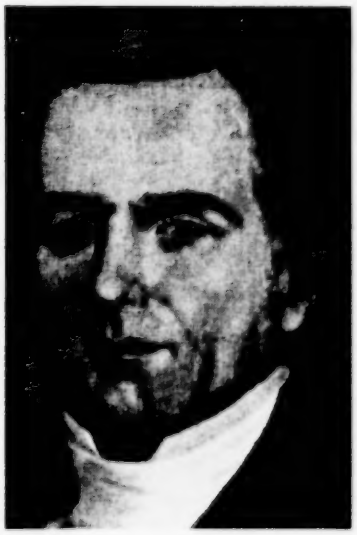
FOUR EARLY LEADERS IN OHIO VALLEY EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

Horace Holley



Robert Bishop



Andrew Wiley

William McGuffey

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